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Carcani To Visit Turkey 'by the End of June'

AU1006123190 Tirana ATA in English 0845 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Tirana, June 9 (ATA)—By the end of June Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, will pay an official and friendly visit to Turkey at the invitation of the premier of the Republic of Turkey, Yildirim Akbulut. This summit visit will take place in the context of the further development and strengthening of relations and close and friendly cooperation between Albania and Turkey.

Police Arrest Asylum Seeker in French Embassy

AU1006194890 Paris AFP in English 1916 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade June 10 (AFP)—The French ambassador to Albania, Michel Boulmer, was manhandled by Albanian police who entered the grounds of his residence in order to arrest a young man who was seeking diplomatic asylum, an embassy official said Sunday.

Emmanuel Rousseau, first secretary of the French Embassy in Tirana, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that the man, whose identity remains unknown, had got through the gates of the ambassador's residence in the May 30 incident when several Albanian policeman entered the compound and arrested him. Mr. Rousseau described the action as "an aggravated violation of the extra- territoriality" of diplomatic compounds. The ambassador attempted to intervene, said Mr. Rousseau, and both he and his wife received blows in the scuffle which followed. The man was taken away by police and his fate was unknown.

In Paris, Foreign Ministry sources said three formal protests were lodged following the incident, two by the French Embassy and a joint protest by the four European Community embassies in Tirana (Italy, Greece, West Germany) [as received].

Ksenofon Nushi, the Albanian ambassador to France, was summoned to the French Foreign Ministry in Paris, according to the ministry sources.

Since the beginning of the year, 10 other Albanians have attempted to gain asylum in Western embassies in Tirana, in the Greek and Italian embassies in particular. Those two embassies are surrounded by uniformed and plainclothes policemen who, in several instances, have not hesitated to penetrate the compounds to arrest Albanians seeking asylum.

AWP Journal Views Political Pluralism

AU0406090190 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No. 5 May 90 pp 87-96

[Article by Servet Pellumbi, doctor of sciences: " 'Political Pluralism' in Theory and Practice"]

[Text] The concept of "political pluralism" has suddenly become an unprecedentedly lively issue and is now among the favorite topics of the day. The issue is not that of pluralism in general, which assumes its specific features depending on the context in which the word is used, but the meaning which is given to it as a concept symbolizing nothing less than true freedom and democracy, the opposite pole of the monolithic character of the communist party and Marxism-Leninism, which are portrayed as "failed alternatives!"

1. Like every concept introduced into daily use, that of "political pluralism" has its history. Some find its roots as far back as the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism, the creation of political parties, and the formation of parliamentary democracy, which was doubtless a step forward. Others, opposing political pluralism and the multiparty system to dictatorships of the fascist type and oppressive totalitarian regimes, see political pluralism as a form of Western liberalism and always "discover" positive features in its application.

Because different traits are ascribed to the concept of "political pluralism," it is important to look at its characteristics under specific historical conditions in order to identify what its most salient features are, what goals and slogans accompany it, and when and where political pluralism can be a characteristic of democracy or a "democratic alternative" which can play an important progressive role in efforts to banish regressive chauvinist forces and their tools which trample on the dignity, freedom, and independence of a nation. Another aspect is no less important, and that is to determine when and where the concept of "political pluralism" acts as an ideopolitical mechanism in the struggle against socialism, especially in order to discount the law by which there can be no victory for socialism or construction of socialism without the leadership of the workers class and its communist party.

It is precisely this latter aspect which has been and remains decisive in the destiny of the concept of "political pluralism." For example, bourgeois political science began to particularly develop and spread this concept in the sixties and seventies of this century, even though a pluralist class and political structure has existed in the West for a long time. European social democracy, in its famous Frankfurt Declaration (1951), began by declaring political pluralism and a neutral world view to be fundamental characteristics of "democratic socialism."

Gradually, this concept assumed the function it possesses today, which is to portray the democracy that exists in Western capitalist countries as the finest form of democracy, on the basis of a characteristic that is pronounced to be primary, i.e. the existence of many parties and their participation in the "game" of electoral campaigns. The issue is posed in a metaphysical, "either-or" way: Either one has political pluralism with many parties, in which case one has democracy, or one has the rule of a single party and ideology (this primarily implies

every socialist country and socialism as a form of social organization in general), in which case there can be no question of democracy, but only of totalitarianism, "party dictatorship," lack of human rights, and so forth.

In this way, the concept of political pluralism, accompanied by the slogan of "the free movement of people, cultures, and ideas," has been turned into an anticommunist ideological device that exerts constant pressure. There is an explanation for this. The bourgeoisie have been frightened more than anything else by the monolithic ideological and political character of socialism and have therefore invested a great deal in undermining it and in advertising political pluralism as a demand of the times and of the technical-scientific revolution. It is not by chance that this concept has been intensively worked out and broadcast in a way that makes easier the work of the modern revisionists in undermining socialism. The model and ideal which must be "fought for" is a hybrid, convergent society, with pluralism in property and a plurality of classes, political parties, and world views accompanied, as Comrade Ramiz Alia emphasizes, by political "terrorism" against Marxism-Leninism.

Nevertheless, various currents of revisionism have arrived at the concept of political pluralism in different ways and at different times. The first to adopt it were the polycentrists and the Eurocommunists, with others in their wake. As a result, the transition to a multiparty system, and the creation in record time of up to 30, 40, or more parties was one of the most striking features of the turbulent changes in the countries of East Europe in the last months of 1989, in the so-called "East European autumn."

Efforts are currently being made to justify such a state of political instability and to portray the multiparty system as a precondition for solving all the problems which have accumulated, while the presence of a single party in power during a relatively long period is held to be the essential root of all evils! In this way "political pluralism" becomes transformed from a normal political concept into a definite political line, a general "yardstick" for defining the level or existence of a "modern," "democratic," or "humane" society. One arrives at the conclusion that, because a precondition of socialism, according to Marxism-Leninism, is the leadership of a genuine communist party (even when historical circumstances have given rise to a multiparty system), socialism is declared to be out of step with the times, out of fashion, anachronistic, and an antidemocratic alternative that nobody at any time can justify. This, in essence, is the aim of the clamorous propaganda surrounding the concept of "political pluralism," and it constitutes a common denominator that surfaces ever more clearly in the models of social organization now being offered in East European countries and the Soviet Union.

2. Many facts convincingly show that there has not been any "distribution" or transfer of power into "various," in other words pluralist, hands in either the West or the countries of East Europe. The multiparty system, with governing parties, opposition parties, and parties of the right and left, is in essence always the same and aims to "administer" the bourgeoisie's affairs without offering any alternative kind of rule. If there are forces or parties which aim at such a thing, they are kept under strict control.

Of course, this kind of pluralism can assume various forms at different times and in different countries. For instance, the events in the countries of East Europe last year brought something new: In these countries, the concept of pluralism was used to bring forces of the right to power, to remove "communist" parties from power, both de facto and de jure, and to destroy everything that might recall socialism. It is not by chance that the many parties which arose and competed with each other to win votes and seize a share of power either revived the names of parties which existed before the victory of the revolution in these countries or assumed the names of the more authoritative parties in the West.

The fact that the changes in these countries were carried out quickly and almost instantaneously, and that virtually the same thing was accomplished in each case, despite the individual characteristics which marked the process in different countries, made a considerable impact on world opinion. Everywhere, "pluralism" was identified as a savior. In fact, a careful analysis shows that the transition of these countries to multiparty systems was not a simple "return to unjustly suppressed traditions," but a symptom of the deep social and class changes which took place and became a reality in these countries during their transition from socialism to capitalism. Pluralism in property, classes, and groups and their interests has for a long time been calling for a reform of the "obsolete" political system with its "vestiges of socialism!"

However, demands for change do not necessarily mean that the changes will be progressive. The deep crisis which engulfed these countries also offered opportunities to the workers class and revolutionary forces, if such existed, to use the crisis in the interests of socialism. However, the working masses had no forms of organization besides those run by the revisionists, who had compromised themselves after so many years of promises and failures. For this reason, the working masses could hardly wait to get rid of them. Other forces, which had existed as dissidents, took charge or were organized hurriedly in the heat of events, sometimes out of nostalgia for the past and sometimes under the pressure of the moment. They were in any case not forces aiming to "renew socialism," but forces which knew how to exploit the discontent of the masses who, as a result of the revisionists' propaganda, felt the crisis caused by the abandonment of socialist principles to be the "crisis" of socialism.

The revisionist parties could do nothing but partially carry out the reforms they announced one after another, sometimes out of fear of the masses and sometimes because they sought the large financial resources which

they needed. The forces which came to power thought that they had found in political pluralism and the other measures they adopted the necessary facade for completing the cycle begun by the revisionist parties, on one hand persuading Western creditors of the depth of the changes they were introducing and their determination to burn all their bridges with socialism, and on the other hand promising the masses a new kind of democracy with more rights and freedoms, an end to the crisis, greater prosperity, a modernization of the economy, free elections with the participation of many parties, and so forth.

However, the adoption of political pluralism, as the most recent events show, is not a transition to a higher kind of democracy nor a "better" way for the masses to learn democracy, as is claimed. First of all, democracy, as a political concept expressing a form of rule in which the people must be sovereign and all-powerful, cannot be reduced to a matter of the number of parties participating in the electoral game. Admitting such an argument would mean that a country like Romania, with 62 active political parties, must be more democratic than another country, like the United States, where there are only two.

Second, the multiparty system is in fact used not to widen democracy but to consolidate the position of right-wing forces. For example, 24 parties took part in the 18 March elections in the GDR and the "right-wing" coalition, "Alliance for Germany," won a majority, while the former communist party, the Party of Democratic Socialism, won only 16.33 percent of the votes and went into opposition. Similar things happened in Poland, in the elections at the end of March in Hungary, in which 41 parties took part, and elsewhere.

Third, new political forces are emerging as pluralistic and divergent, with all kinds of sonorous names but with virtually identical programs. Many of them have now acquired a common language and direct material support from their counterparts in the West. This lends a significant element of fiction to "political pluralism" and shows what really stands behind it.

All this also goes to explain why the euphoria of the working masses in these countries has given way to a wave of doubt, skepticism, and even fear that, for the sake of extending certain formal rights, they wil' have to pay dearly in the galloping rise in unemployment, prices, and inflation which will seriously jeopardize the social victories which they have inherited, such as guaranteed employment, housing, pension rights, and so forth. It cannot happen otherwise so long as political forces talking about "the crisis of the socialist model" seek a way out in another model and glance backward toward the privatization of factories and land and the Western-style capitalism which, according to them, has proved more vital and is "a rational system of universal management." In particular, these forces indicate as examples the economic growth of certain Western countries which have so far managed to greatly profit from the developments of the technical-scientific revolution, achievements which appear to have reformed and altered the nature of capitalism and made it a model worth everybody's emulation.

In reality, without denying the changes which the technical-scientific revolution has brought, it must be underlined that these changes are not signs of the health or vitality of the pluralist capitalist order and its "conclusive" victory over socialism, the alternative form of social development. This is because, first, they are phenomena which are encountered only in certain countries and which cannot exist except against the backdrop of the backwardness and intensive exploitation of other undeveloped or less developed countries, and, second, because the accumulation of material goods or the development of productive forces as a whole is not and cannot be the sole criterion of social progress as long as relations of oppression and exploitation and the alienation of labor and its products from their producers still exist, and as long as this development is accompanied by economic crises and such features of social degradation and degeneration as unemployment, organized crime, drug addiction, prostitution, Mafia gangsterism, state terrorism, and so forth. A society which, under the mask of democracy and pluralism, calls such features its motivating power and proclaims oppression and exploitation, the dehumanization of social relations, and the deep indebtedness of other countries (developing countries alone are in debt to the tune of more than $1 trillion) as virtues and the basic stimuli of progress and freedom can in no way serve as a model, still less when it puts itself forward as the most democratic and the "best" that can possibly exist and transforms itself into a model, dictating to others what they should and should not do.

Our working masses, educated by the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] into an ideopolitical conviction of the vitality of socialism, are advancing determinedly on the road chosen by the people's revolution itself, which has been the most effective road in our people's history. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the 10th AWP Central Committee plenum: "The great economic, political, and social transformations which brought our country out of feudalism into the modern age could not have been accomplished under any social order other than socialism, in which the people and the state are closely tied to each other. (Footnote 1) (ZERI I POPULLIT 19 Apr 90 p 1) Maintaining socialist ideals unchanged, the party and our people see socialism as a type of society with particular diversity and dynamism, which cannot exist except by continually developing and renewing democracy and by discovering, step by step, new opportunities and fresh motivating power.

The experience we are gaining in our country convinces us that the solution to the new problems of growth which naturally arise particularly during the intensive phases of the construction of a socialist society, which is not an easy process or one that can be accomplished within the span of one or two generations, must not be sought abroad, in the driving forces of an obsolete social order

and its economic, social, political, and spiritual structure, but on the socialist road and within the framework of socialism, by stimulating the values of socialism and the many, varied, and inexhaustible advantages of its dynamism.

3. In criticizing the ill-founded nature of "political pluralism," and particularly the ideological baggage it carries today, with its markedly anticommunist and anti-Marxist overtones, we are in no way simplifying the issue and are not asserting that under socialism everybody must have the same view or opinion about this or that issue, the same level of ideocultural development, and the same demands and tastes, or that there is not and cannot be any diversity, different options of choice, freedom for an opposition of views, a variety of needs and interests which must be carefully harmonized, and so forth.

However, in our view, under the conditions of socialism, there is no reason why the variety of opinions, interests, personalities, solutions, and options should, after the liquidation of the exploiting classes, assume confrontational forms and take the shape of a political and ideological pluralism at whose foundations lie diametrically opposed political class interests and which reflects a reality in which there cannot be social, political, or ideological unity. On the contrary, as our experience shows, this diversity can successfully develop around the axis of the interests of socialist society and express common efforts for socialism and progress.

We see this kind of "pluralism," if this is what we can call the diversity which continues to exist under socialism, as a concrete manifestation of a general phenomenon underpinning the principles and values of socialism and the unity of our socialist society, and as an entirety which is undergoing dialectical development. In this case, the general principles, line, and directives of the party do not hamper but, on the contrary, encourage other sections of the political organization of socialist society (for example the many social organizations) to act independently and creatively in presenting the specific interests of the masses of the people they represent. Therefore, any fear of thinking and acting in a creative and independent way, in accordance with the principles of socialism, is in essence unjustified.

As is well known, historical developments in our country did not lead to the creation of many political parties, and the Communist Party led the revolution and the construction of socialism from the very start. However, the Party, by synthesizing such fine traditions of free discussion among the people for the democratic solution of problems as exemplified by the assemblies of elders [traditional institutions of Albanian village democracy], promoted these traditions and made the discussion and solution of every problem together with the people, the working masses, and their many organizations a method of its work. In this sense, diversity, in a special sense which implies unity on the basic issues, continues to exist under socialism, and to discount it would be contrary to the dialectical spirit of Marxism-Leninism. For example, we have created on this basis the youth and women's organizations, the Democratic Front, the trade unions, the cooperatives, the writers' and artists' associations, the various kinds of sports associations, the associations of doctors and other professions, and so forth, which operate in this way.

Without embarking on the many problems connected with further invigorating and increasing the role of the mass organizations in discussing and solving the problems posed by today's reality and the country's future development on the socialist road, we underline that the further development of mass democracy does not in any sense entail the need for the political pluralism which is now advertised in the shape of the multiparty system, which would be contrary not only to our traditions, but to the real social and class situation and the ideological homogeneity that characterizes our socialist society.

The supporters of pluralism may call this monomania and say that a unique and exclusive experience like that of our country, where the tradition of many parties has never existed, must not be raised to the level of a principle. We do not deny that traditions, including political ones, have their own role and place and influence the characteristics which the victory of the revolution and the construction of socialism will assume in different countries, particularly in the first stages of these processes. However, socialism brings and cannot fail to bring radical transformations in all fields. There is, therefore, no reason to ossify and perpetuate a given situation with a diversity of classes and a fixed form of politics "for the sake of tradition!" If party pluralism did once exist, and was superseded in the course of the construction of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, as happened in the countries of East Europe and the Soviet Union, a reversion to a tradition of this kind cannot be a sign of the democratization and humanization of socialism, as has been said, but is a reflection of regressive social, class, and economic changes.

The continual defense and progress of socialism does indeed vitally require a comprehensive and uninterrupted development of democracy and democratic structures, but this development cannot in any way be identified with pluralism of political parties. Socialist democracy contains within itself other, inexhaustible possibilities and opportunities and a diversity of roads and forms which are dynamic and capable of continual development. The identification and activation of these opportunities and the continual narrowing of the scope left to bureaucracy constitutes the principal route for the development of the political system under the conditions of socialism. In this context, the new creative assistance provided by the implementation of the decisions of the ninth and 10th party Central Committee plenums for the present and future of socialism and the freedom and independence of our country is also evident.

For example, the life of party organizations has become particularly lively with the holding of open meetings and the active participation of the masses in them, the refinement of the electoral system for state bodies and managing cadres at all levels, the introduction of competition and other democratic methods of cadre selection throughout the process of job preparation, training, and appointment, the increased control of the masses and their active participation in decisionmaking, the refinement of relations between centralism and democracy in expanding the authorities of the base and the social organizations themselves, the shift in emphasis from administrative methods to up-to-date economic methods in the organization and management of the economy, the further improvement of the legislation and of a new regulation of social and economic life which relies on unified laws that allow no exceptions and will better protect the exercise of human rights, and so forth.

The experience we are gaining also fortifies our conviction that socialism possesses resources in every field of life to create truly democratic structures and has inexhaustible potential for development and the vitality and capability to struggle against "the bureaucratic monolith" and every sign of totalitarianism in the life of society without the need for the political pluralism which might all at once lead to an abandonment of socialism.

Neither is instilling in people deep political and ideological convictions about socialism or the presence of the ideological homogeneity which should characterize socialist society in its advanced stages simply "a monopoly of the truth," making people "stand at attention" in their opinions, or denying the democracy and freedom of thought which are allegedly only possible under the conditions of "ideological pluralism." To portray matters in this way and to underline merely diversity, which must not in any way be gainsaid even under the conditions of socialism, means to deny what is most fundamental, held in common, and synthesized in Marxist-Leninist theory. It means to deny objective truth as merely "an exemplar" which does not need a variety of models, despite the many ways in which it can manifest itself or be experienced by different individuals, classes, and so forth. [sentence as published]

Underlining the priority of principles (such as the causes of socialism and our national freedom and independence) before the facts, opinions, and specific solutions to problems that life produces implies at the same time, as experience shows, that we should be more careful to prevent conflicts between the two and ensure that principles do not lead to schematicism, cliches, and metaphysical and dogmatic positions, divorced from the many problems that dialectical development presents, and in thrall to "yesterday's answers." "Principles" of such a kind would be worthless and antidialectical.

Unity in the fundamentals that unite people in socialism does not deny but implies freedom of creative thought, a variety of paths in the search for the truth, debate, discussion, and the play of choice and individuality in art, science, and daily life. In this sense, it does not call for mere rote-learning and the mechanical repetition of principles (on the "principle - example" model) or the mere standardized application of these principles in different fields, but demands that our people master logic and the Marxist method of analysis, continually training themselves to perceive what is new and mastering dialectical methods of recognizing and solving the many and various kinds of problems. This requires us to see socialist democracy not merely as a way of running society and a form of government, but as a way in which people think and behave, as freedom of thought and of persuasion by argument, and an invigoration of the masses' spirit of initiative and of their courage in putting forward their arguments, views, and attitudes. Such a conception of democracy has a deep tradition in the ancient and modern history of our people.

The presence of such diversity also demands a higher sense of responsibility and skill on the part of our people in selecting and appraising as democratically as possible their views and the best answers to problems, so that constructive dialogue, conceived as a way of reaching and discovering the truth, dissociating oneself from viewpoints alien to socialism, and becoming aware of the many developmental possibilities which socialism has, will take the place of "monologue" more than has been the case to date. Through such a democratic procedure, our people will come to realistically understand the level of freedom that has been achieved and will be persuaded that society and the homeland need them and their thoughts and activity. Thus, new horizons will open up for a growth and expansion of the role of the subjective factor, increasing the volume of our people's active social activity, which is an indicator of the development and maturity of socialist democracy.

From the affirmation of this truth, which is an organic element of the theory and practice of socialism, stems the importance of a concrete, individual, and personal assessment of submitted opinions and recommended solutions, so that the contribution of each person will not be evened out or absorbed into a "mass of views" which remains anonymous. This makes debate, informed dialogue, and account-rendering concrete and substantial, sifts through opinions, increases responsibility and self-discipline, distinguishes the able from the incompetent, and makes the dynamism of socialist democracy's development something tangible.

However, we must admit that such a democratic practice also involves "worries" for those attracted by the old ways, who are bureaucratized, and who show "more care" that debate, discussion, and the masses' suggestions should not exceed "the bounds." In this respect, the struggle to spread more widely among us all the culture of debate, discussion, and confrontation which is ensured by socialist democracy demands further work on the relevant mechanisms and an increase in the strength of public opinion, so that this right can be protected from the inhibiting influences of bureaucracy, arrogance, and spite.

As experience shows, bureaucracy and all its derivatives represent a regressive force in democratic circles, stultifying

and inhibiting thought, making thought a matter of regurgitation, a prey to officialdom, and self-apologetic. In reality, it encourages rumors and alien thinking and influences, and opens the door to conformism. It leads the individual into a double life, so that he sees his convictions, in the simple but striking phrase of our distinguished patriot Abdyl Frasheri: "as shoes he puts on to go to the market and takes off when he comes home!"

For these reasons, as was said at the ninth and 10th plenums of the Party Central Committee, it is only those who unhesitatingly open the door to debate and value lively and creative thinking and the role and assistance of the masses who bring energy, "new blood," freshness, and the dynamism of dialectical thinking into the theory and practice of socialism.

BSP Apparent Winner; Further on Voting, Reaction

Private Association To Observe Elections

AU0706150390 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Jun 90 p 2

[Text] A private association, with no commercial intentions, has been founded in Sofia under the name "Civic Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections."

With the help of its members and sympathizers throughout the country, the association will conduct its own observations of the election campaign and the elections themselves, summarize and publish the results of its observations, and provide warning tips and suggestions to the appropriate organs in the event of its observation of any political-rights violations. Any capable persons who have not been elected to the leading organs of political parties and associations may join the new association, which is not a political organization and has the status of a private organization.

The association's address is: Sofia 1040, 2-a Aleksandur Stamboliyski Boulevard, telephone 87-22-14.

Mladenov Receives U.S. Observers

AU0806185290 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Jun (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, today received the official U.S. delegation appointed by President George Bush for the elections in Bulgaria and headed by Governor Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma.

The president of the republic also received the delegation of the Council of Europe, led by Mr Miguel Angel Martinez, vice president of the Bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly.

The U.S. delegation today conferred with the leadership of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS). Mr Viktor Vulkov, chairman of the the BZNS, familiarized the guests with his party's election platform. He stressed that the Agrarian Party remains committed to its idea of a broad-based coalition government involving all significant political forces.

Asked whether the BZNS had participated on equal terms in the election campaign, Mr Vulkov did not cite any drastic inequality but told about some difficulties into which his party ran when it held rallies and election meetings.

The U.S guests had a meeting with Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council.

They considered the political situation in the country, the organisation of the forthcoming ballot and the conditions for a fair, free and democratic election process.

Irrespective of the election results, the BSP will become a modern party, reformist in spirit and leftist in character, Mr Aleksandur Lilov emphasized.

Other Foreign Observers Arrive

AU0906172590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Today President of the Republic Petur Mladenov received foreign guests visiting Bulgaria in connection with elections for the Grand National Assembly.

The guests included members of the international delegation of the U.S. National Republican and National Democratic Institutes of International Affairs led by Steingrimur Hermannsson, prime minister of Iceland.

The head of state received an FRG delegation including members of parliament from the German Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, and the Free Democratic Party. FRG Ambassador Karl Walter Lewalter took part in the meeting.

The president later received a delegation of people's deputies of the Soviet Union led by Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for the election of people's deputies of the Russian Federation. Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov was in attendance.

Lukanov Greets European Delegation

AU0906214290 Sofia BTA in English 1950 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Jun (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today met with the delegation of the Council of Europe.

He briefed the guests on the measures which the government is taking in interaction with the Central Electoral Commission for the conduct of free and democratic elections. In compliance with the requirements of the political parties act and of the national round table agreements, the government subsidized the organization of the election campaign.

The Bulgarian head of government told his guests about some incidents involving supporters of different political parties. The cooperation between the political parties helps avoid a more bitter campaign confrontation. A special commission has been set up at the council of ministers to monitor the election campaign.

The head of the Council of Europe delegation Mr Miguel Angel Martinez stressed that the delegation did not arrive in Bulgaria to control the election but to monitor their democratic conduct which will be an important step towards Bulgaria's further integration with Europe.

Lilov, Zhelev, Vulkov Preelection Debate

AU0806200590

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 8 June begins a live TV and radio relay

of the election debate of Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordination Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and Viktor Vulkov chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union (BZNS). The debate is led by TV announcer Pisarev.

The debate begins with an informal conversation, in which it is decided to allow every participant to make a 5-minute statement, afterward the debate will continue in the form of questions and answers.

At 1834 GMT Aleksandur Lilov begins his statement. He praises the atmosphere during the election campaign. He expresses hope that "the 10 June elections will be a great victory for democracy in Bulgaria." He stresses his believe that "the BSP will win a decisive election victory," and lists the arguments that prompt him to reach this conclusion. In conclusion he appeals to the voters to vote for the BSP candidates.

At 1841 GMT Lilov ends his statement. The second participant to make an opening statement is Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the SDS Coordination Council. He describes the characteristics of the totalitarian society and juxtaposes it with the principles of democracy. Zhelev asserts that "generally speaking" the basic characteristics of the totalitarian system in Bulgaria has remained intact. He lists the various political initiatives of the SDS and describes its basic goals, among them democracy, equality, and opening to Europe. At 1847 GMT Pisarev interrupts Zhelev and tells him that "his time is up."

At 1848 GMT Viktor Vulkov, BZNS chairman, begins his opening statement. He describes the BZNS election platform "in which there is not even one superfluous word." Nevertheless, Vulkov asserts that the platforms of the other parties also have positive elements. Further on he describes the democratic manner in which the BZNS candidates hav been nominated, and their positive qualities. According to him "the serious work will begin after 10 June." As Lilov, Vulkov also appeals for a "victory of democracy" on 10 June, and recalls Jefferson's definition of democracy— "newspapers that can print anything and people who can read." He expresses his desire for establishing a "government of the people" and urges the voters to vote for the BZNS. Vulkov ends his statement at 1855 GMT.

At 1856 GMT Lilov expresses his opposition to Vulkov's definition of Bulgarian present society as "post-totalitarian" and says that at present Bulgaria's society is "one that renews itself." He describes the changes that have taken place in Bulgaria since 10 November 1989 and asserts that "democracy is now being constructed in Bulgaria."

At 1858 GMT Vulkov says that "this precisely is what he meant by post-totalitarian society" and asserts that totalitarian elements still persist despite the process of democratization. At this pojnt Zhelyu Zhelev points out that the "state form of ownership still exists in Bulgaria," and stresses that "this is an exploitation form of ownership." In this context he recalls that the SDS platform demands to transfer the state property to the workers and peasants.

At 1902 GMT a free discussion develops on the issue of state ownership and the introduction of privatization in Bulgaria. Vulkov stresses "the special importance attributed to private ownership in the BZNS platform," and points out the importance of returning the land to the ownership of the peasants.

At 1905 GMT Lilov says that "private property will not lead us out of the crisis," and stresses that "we must facilitate the development of all forms of property, including private property." He asks Zhelev whether the SDS economic program includes not only total privatization, but also the intention "to sell parts of Bulgaria."

In his response Zhelev points out the importance of privatization, and asserts that "we do not want to sell Bulgaria." Lilov interrupts him by saying "where will the Bulgarians find the money to buy the enterprises?" Zhelev answers by saying that "the state must help them."

At 1909 GMT Vulkov takes the floor and points out the importance of forming a government of experts, "without any significance of their political affiliation." Such a government will acquire the necessary international prestige, Vulkov says. Zhelev agrees with him, but adds that "there are many problems, and there is no single solution to them." Then he addresses the issue of forming a coalition. "We are ready to enter a coalition with other organizations," Zhelev says, and asserts that "those must be democratic parties, which will promote the process of democracy. At this stage we are not ready to enter a coalition with the BSP, because it still carries much of its past image, and is not capable to implement the necessary reforms." If the BSP changes its character in the future the issue could be discussed again, Zhelev says.

Lilov points out that "he abstains from reaction at this point," however, he points out that "we are prepared to form a coalition of national consensus" with any political force in Bulgaria. He says that "socialists can change, and present leadership of the SDS is an example of this conclusion."

At 1916 GMT Zhelev asks why so far no former leader has been sentenced for his political crimes and responsibility. Lilov answers that "this is the competence of the judicial organs, and our party will not repeat its past mistakes and will not interfere in their work." If the SDS forms the next government, Lilov says, then perhaps this government could speed things up.

At 1919 GMT Pisarev asks Zhelev why the prisoners who rioted in several prisons raised SDS flags. Zhelev attributes this to the fact that "many prisoners have been detained without any trial and accusation," and SDS has

repeatedly demanded to release them. "As far as the criminal prisoners are involved—the SDS has nothing to do with them."

At 1921 GMT Pisarev asks Vulkov about the responsibility of former BZNS leader Petur Tanchev for Bulgaria's situation. Vulkov says that "the precise degree and proportion of his responsibility should be ascertained." He points out that "the party already punished him by expelling him from the BZNS," however, refrains from associating Tanchev with Zhivkov crimes, and asserts the responsibility of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Politburo for the situation. "For us his case ended with his expulsion from the BZNS," Vulkov says.

At 1925 GMT Lilov says that "not everything should be blamed on the Politburo," and recalls that the BZNS was responsible for several ministries, such as the Ministry of Justice. Vulkov rebuffs this claim by saying that "the BZNS minister of justice has always been surrounded by several communist deputy ministers." In this context he asserts the responsibility of the "BCP Central Committee secretary for agriculture, who was a rather illiterate person." The same situation existed in the Ministry of People's Health, Vulkov says, and asserts that "the BZNS had nothing to do with the important ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

At 1929 GMT Zhelev asks Lilov whether his party's striving toward democracy includes the relinquishing of socialism. Lilov points out that this is not the case, and recalls that the 14th BCP Congress adopted a decision on democratic socialism. In this context he quotes an article by Willy Brandt on the future of democratic socialism, "which he brought with him, because he had anticipated Zhelev's question." Zhelev points out that "the USSR has been trying for more than 70 years to build democratic socialism," and expresses his puzzlement with the fact that a "FRG leaders should be quoted on this matter." He asks Lilov to point out "a single society in which democratic socialism exists." Lilov refuses to do so, saying that socialism is an ideology and a system of efficient mechanisms that change society, rather than a political system. A theoretical discussion of the concept "democratic socialism" develops.

At 1935 GMT a discussion of "shock therapy" of Bulgarian economy develops, Zhelev and Lilov presenting the well-known positions of their parties, namely, that the transition toward market economy should be gradual, as the BSP demands, or immediate and total, as the SDS demands. Lilov points out the example of Argentina, where the "shock therapy" caused an inflation of 3,700 percent.

At 1940 GMT Pisarev asks the participants whether they see the possibility of national consensus in Bulgaria. Vulkov points out his optimism on this issue, basing it "on the success of the roundtable." "We must seek national consensus," Vulkov says, and points out that this must be a prime goal after the elections.

Zhelev subscribes to Vulkov's example of the roundtable talks, and also points out the importance of consensus. He points out the importance of promoting capable people to leading posts. For his part, Lilov also expresses support of national consensus, stressing the importance of such consensus for the functioning of the government. He declares that "the BSP will recognize the elections' results, whatever those results are." Zhelev immediately repeats this declaration saying that "the SDS unconditionally will recognize the results." "Unconditionally, you are sure," Lilov says. "Yes," Zhelev answers.

At 1950 GMT Pisarev asks the participants to make final remarks. Lilov, Zhelev, and Vulkov appeal to the "good sense" of the voters and all three express their believe in the future of democratic Bulgaria.

In conclusion Pisarev urges the voters "to fulfill their civic duty," and "vote for the best candidates," and closes the debate at 1951 GMT.

UDF's Ludzhev on Elections

AU0806220290 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 31 May 90 p 2

[Interview with Dimitur Ludzhev, member of the Union of Democratic Forces, Coordinational Council, candidate for the National Assembly elections, with Sonya Stoyanova; place and date not given: "No More Speculations"]

[Text] [Stoyanova] A drastic exacerbation of confrontations between the ruling party and the opposition has been observed throughout the last weeks. The election campaign has deteriorated in a most unpleasant manner. What are your impressions after your extensive tour of the country?

[Ludzhev] The election campaign of the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which is now called the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], is far from complying with the moral behavior standards which we discussed at the roundtable. The campaign of the BSP is certainly not prompted by a desire to calm down the people and to promise them effective methods of overcoming the crisis, but quite the opposite. The total political illiteracy which applies to part of the population is taken advantage of in promoting a mass intimidation campaign. The BSP speculates with the people's fear of losing the modest benefits they have been granted. The people are warned that they might be refused their pensions, that they might be deprived of their social assets. They are warned that if the "blue ones" should take power, this would create a chaotic situation in the country. This is actually a continuation of the political demagogy which was a characteristic feature of the ruling BCP circles in the past.

They are still trying to convince the people that "capitalism is a merciless exploiter." This theory is even propagated by so-called "reformers," such as Kyuranov, Bokov, and others who have been in the West and are

perfectly aware of the methods according to which people in those countries are solving the problems of unemployment, promoting retraining and retirement programs, and others. They perfectly understand what the UDF is trying to do and are acquainted with our platform. They are familiar with the advantages of the mechanisms applied in developed, democratic states. Nevertheless, they are stubbornly pursuing their traditional and counterproductive habit of denying all this.

The high-ranking BSP representatives claim that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces, UDF] has adopted totalitarian positions and in case of the opposition's victory in the elections they would be cruelly persecuted. This is a preposterous argument. We consider the transition to democracy incompatible with any form of violence, or political discrimination, whatsoever.

[Stoyanova] What is your comment on the SDS's refusal to sign the political agreement proposed by the president?

[Ludzhev] This argument was recently used as a convenient instrument of manipulations. We signed several agreements at the national roundtable—the agreement on peaceful transition to democracy, the ethical code, the agreement on free elections, and others, by stating the views of the SDS. We were the initiators and the authors of the texts in question and we are interested in a non-violent transition to democracy. We are opposed to violence. Those who are in the possession of weapons and exercise the real power in this country represent the potential danger jeopardizing the peaceful transition to democracy. We are not convinced that the Communist Party would accept a civilized method of restructuring political power. These are, precisely, the guarantees we request.

[Stoyanova] What would you like to wish the DEMOKRATSIYA readers?

[Ludzhev] Let us all greet the election victory on 10 June with a happy smile!

Sofia Security Organs on Rallies

AU0806220090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The Sofia City People's Council and the organs in charge of law and order during and after the impressive rallies of the major political forces in Sofia last night expressed their satisfaction at the tolerance manifested by the numerous participants in the aforementioned rallies.

According to evaluations, approximately half-a-million people attended the Sofia rallies in question, including guests from other parts of the country. It is understandable that each of the organizers tends to present the number of people participating in his rally in the most favorable light possible.

The data available to us show that the number of people attending the two rallies are comparable. Naturally, this evaluation can also be contested. It is, however, certain that the different figures were mentioned by correspondents of various foreign radio stations and news agencies, which we reported this morning, reflect subjective impressions and can only be defined as unrealistic.

President Bans Polls, Predictions

AU0906172890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] As is well known, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS—UDF] made a protest to the president of the Republic, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission in connection with the intention to invite the INFAS Company to forecast the results of the elections. A number of other political forces and civic associations have also declared their intention to carry out sociological investigations and polls.

In connection with the SDS protest, and in order not to permit the possibility of unlawfully exerting influence upon the voters on election day and in the vicinity of the polling stations, the president of the Republic has decided not to permit the holding of sociological studies and polls in the vicinity of the election sections, or the publicizing of data on the results of the elections before the official announcement of the Central Electoral Commission.

The appropriate instructions have been issued to the oblast and municipal people's councils and to the media.

Public associations for monitoring the elections are asked to observe this decision.

At the same time, certain organs of state power have been given instructions to fully assist the public forces and associations in organizing public control over the course of the elections.

It is recommended that all tips concerning violations and attempts to unlawfully influence the voters should be communicated to the district electoral commissions or the Central Electoral Commission, so that the organs of state power may immediately take the necessary measures.

Election Press Coverage

AU0906145990 Sofia BTA in English 1241 GMT 9 Jun 90

["Press Review"— BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Jun (BTA)—Tomorrow the elections for a Grand National Assembly will be held, the first multiparty elections in many years. The press carries features in which the voting procedure is explained. The dailies inform that according to the latest data the voters in the country are 6,439,462 and that of the people who will cast their votes abroad is 55,245.

Under the headline "Alarming Surprise Before the Elections" DUMA writes that Petko Simeonov of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] has driven away the West German Company INFAS and that the Honest Elections Association has declared they will hold a sociological survey and will announce the preliminary results of the elections. According to DUMA a great part of the Bulgarians consider that the Honest Elections Association is biased, therefore its "unexpected claims to announce the results of the election" are unacceptable.

DEMOKRATSIYA informs that Konstantin Trenchev, the leader of the Podkrepa Confederation of Labour, controverts some facts stated by DUMA. According to him, the interpretation given to his position on strikes by the paper of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is not correct and the charges made against him by referring to his health are also ungrounded.

Election Campaign Reviewed

AU0906134690 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Jun (BTA summary by Mrs. Mariya Velkovska)—The first free elections for more than forty years, which will be held on June 10 and 17, are the number one topic in Bulgaria. The earthquake relegated political debates to the background for not more than a day, and the soccer world cup has got no chance at all.

Who will be the winner, by what margin, and what government will be formed? The state-sponsored opinion poll give approximately equal chances to the two leading contenders: the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party [BSP] and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], or a slight advantage to the party which has ruled the country for 45 years. Independent sociologists, however, predict another possible outcome: a margin in favour of the opposition coalition.

A comparison of the two final campaign rallies in Sofia suggests that the opposition enjoys growing popularity, especially with young people. The opposition scored an important propaganda point when it enlisted the active and resourceful participation of artists in its campaign. The sense of humour was also harnessed. One opposition poster is entitled "Puzzle." It depicts portraits of top people of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] facing portraits of top people of the BSP. They are the same persons. The only one missing in the new party gallery is Todor Zhivkov. Finding out the differences proves a child's play.

An anti-opposition poster features a bearded SDS member who unearths a grave. A swastika pops up from the grave and the opposition member wonders plaintively: "Shall we ever identify this innocent victim?" They reacted by this poster to disclosures of repressions and extrajudicial killings under the communist regime. Samizdat propaganda and even DUMA, the BSP daily, have been insinuating that the present-day opposition members resemble fascists. ISTINATA ("the truth"), a broadsheet of an unlisted publisher or editorial board, contained many photos and eyewitness accounts about anti-fascists killings before 1944. A photo showing a killed woman partisan flanks a photo of the SDS leader, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, with his arm raised in what looks like a Nazi salute. The opposition reacted strongly against that publication, which went to the news stands on June 1, Children's Day. Dr. Petur Dertliev, an utmostly reserved person, himself an anti-Fascist and now leader of the SDS-affiliated Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, made an indignant statement about "The Truth."

The SDS press bulletin also resorted to an allusion to the past. It ran parallel stories of electoral abuses in 1946 (the last multi-party elections) and in 1990. The idea was to show that the BCP/BSP has not changed its methods.

The fairness of the elections and their peaceful conduct give rise to much debate, as Bulgarians' misgivings remain despite the repeated assurances by the political forces' leaders that none of them stands anything to gain by dubious election results. Two Bulgarian societies for fair elections guarantees, numerous foreign observers and an army of reporters do little to allay the fears of the electorate which have been diagnosed by the opinion polls.

The Central Electoral Commission and the SDS do not want the INFAS pollsters to operate on polling-day for fear that public opinion might be manipulated.

The fear of pre-election and election violence is another important topic now. The non-violence appeals of the head of state, of the political leaders and of the government do not sound reassuring but rather suggest that clashes are likely. The most solid grounds for optimism come from the trouble-free holding of the two major rallies in Sofia, with an overall attendance of at least one million supporters of the Reds and of the Blues.

Beginning of Elections Reported

AU1006125790 Sofia BTA in English 0738 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)—The elections for a Grand National Assembly started today simultaneously in the 12,645 electoral districts. These are the first free multi-party elections in Bulgaria in the last 45 years. As the Central Electoral Commission announced early this morning the sections throughout the country have started work.

The number of people included in the electoral lists is 6,494,707. In addition more than 55,000 Bulgarians working abroad or emigrants will be able to cast their votes in 59 countries which have given their consent for setting up polling stations in their territory.

3,143 candidates will compete for 400 seats in the Grand National Assembly—200 of them will be taken based on the majority system and 200 based on the proportional system. In the single-mandate constituencies an average

of seven candidates will compete for one seat in parliament and in the multimandate constituencies the contenders are almost nine to a seat.

38 parties and coalitions are running in the elections. The three major political forces have the following number of nominees: the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) 479; the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] 429; the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) 428. No party or coalition has candidates in all the 200 single-mandate constituencies. The BZNS and the SDS have candidates in 199 constituencies and the BSP in 194.

To guarantee democratic elections, when forming the electoral districts the participation of the major political forces was ensured. Their work will be supervised by three organizations—the Public Control Council which will see to it that the agreement on guaranteeing the holding of free elections is observed; the Citizens' Free and Democratic Elections Initiative; and the Honest Elections Association.

Besides the official parliamentary delegations of more than 20 countries, of the Council of Europe and of the European Parliament, almost 400 foreign public figures and politicians invited by the different political parties will be present as observers to ensure the correct holding of the elections. All of them and the journalists who wished to, have been given the status of guests. They have the right to move freely all over the country, to have talks with citizens and officials, to attend the polling stations from the beginning of the election day to the closing of the elections and the announcement of the results. The Central Electoral Commission has recommended to all state bodies and officials to render them assistance in the discharge of their duties.

It is expected that the results of the elections will become known on June 11 in the evening.

Peaceful Start of Voting Reported

AU1006124290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0500 GMT 10 Jun 90

["Announcement" by Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission—live or recorded]

[Text] Good morning. The elections have started. The Central Electoral Commission was informed by the local authorities that all polling stations throughout the country have opened their doors and are currently in operation. The atmosphere is bright, cheerful, and festive. People are flocking to the polling stations. Everything is proceeding peacefully and this can only make us happy.

I am taking advantage of this opportunity to make the following two announcements:

First: Representatives of the associations for fair, free, and democratic elections and all individuals who have the status of guests should have free access to the local electoral commissions' headquarters and polling stations.

Second: The Central Electoral Commission reminds you that, according to its decision, political parties and other organizations are not allowed to conduct any public polls of voters on the election day. Political parties, associations, and other organizations are entitled to announce their forecasts about the election results only after the Central Electoral Commission has announced the end of election day across the entire country.

Electoral Center Reports Ballot 'Shortage'

AU1006132290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0930 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Statement by Mikhail Gorinov, person in charge of the Electoral Press Center at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture, on 10 June—live or recorded]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has issued timely instructions to provide all polling stations, where there is a shortage of ballots for any of the parties, with a sufficient number of ballots.

Such cases of shortages were unfortunately ascertained. I will brief you now on some details of the Central Electoral Commission's operational plan on 10 June, election day, so that our listeners may be aware of what to expect in the forthcoming hours. I am sure that they are all very eager to know as soon as possible how the elections are proceeding in all places, and this does not just apply to people in our country. Many of our friends abroad are also interested in the results of elections in Bulgaria, the first free, democratic elections in our country.

I would like to say that soon, namely at 1300 [1000 GMT], later at 1600 [1300 GMT], and at 1900 [1600 GMT], the Electoral Commission is expecting to receive information from the local electoral commissions on the number of registered voters, on the real number of voters who have cast their ballots, and on how regulations related to the law on Grand National Assembly elections are being observed, on whether incidents have occurred, and so forth. We are reporting in a timely manner on some of the shortcomings and measures to correct them are also being adopted in a timely manner.

After 1900 [1600 GMT] we are expecting announcements from the local electoral commissions on the closing of polling stations where voting has been concluded, on the time of their closing, on the number of voters, on the results of voting, and on the number of polling stations where voting continues. As is known, according to the Electoral Law, the voting should end at 1800 [1500 GMT] and if there are still people who have not voted, the polling stations should remain open until 1900 [1600 GMT]. The Central Electoral Commission decided that the polling stations should remain open until everyone has had the opportunity to vote.

Representatives of the territorial technological and computer centers which are present in all local polling stations of the multi-mandate and single-mandate constituencies are expected to collect the data provided by the polling stations and to transmit them by telephone, telex, or by faxing to the Central Electoral Commission at the aforementioned hours.

Central Electoral Commission Control Measures

AU1006133490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0930 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has adopted measures related to some shortcomings and violations which have occurred during the elections.

It has been decided that in places where the ballot boxes are already full, reserve boxes should be used and prepared according to the law.

The electoral commissions are urged to exert permanent control over the availability of a sufficient number of ballots and provide additional ballots of all parties in case some should be missing.

The Central Electoral Commission also decided that the voting process should be stopped in places where a sufficient number of ballots is not available.

The Central Electoral Commission also decided that individuals who, for any reason whatsoever, are removing ballots (let us not use the word stealing) to keep as collectors' items or for any other purposes, should be immediately handed over to the appropriate authorities for prosecution, this being a considered a crime according to our country's laws.

Let us add another detail: Prior to the Central Electoral Commission's session Zhelyu Zhelev and Petko Simeonov, representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], arrived and submitted a protest letter, and the decision of the Central Electoral Commission was adopted in their presence.

Lukanov Statement Prior to Voting

AU1006130390 Sofia BTA in English 0756 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)—"Let Bulgarians remember this day as peaceful, civilized and tolerant, as a day of tolerance among the political forces and of unity for the sake of Bulgaria," said Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers before he cast his vote today in the Sofia borough of Chervena Zvezda.

Speaking to foreign and Bulgarian reporters, the Bulgarian head of government described June 10 as a red-letter day for all Bulgarians. "We must be worthy of this day," he said. If the Bulgarian Socialist Party wins the elections it will propose the formation of a coalition government. Mr Lukanov recalled the position of his party.

Mladenov Votes, Comments

AU1006133190 Sofia BTA in English 1017 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the republic, cast his vote in polling district No. 43 of the Sofia Borough of Oborishte. Bulgarian and foreign reporters, TV crews and foreign observers crowded into the small polling station. Mr Mladenov told the press and the voters present, "I'm voting for the happy future of Bulgaria; for peace, for democracy, for a wonderful life of the entire Bulgarian people..."

Party Leaders Reported Voting

AU1006133590 Sofia BTA in English 1041 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 June [BTA]—The Central Electoral Commission reported that 40 per cent of the eligible voters have exercised their franchise in the first four hours of the poll.

Voting has been temporarily discontinued in polling districts where ballot-papers of some parties were unavailable. The Central Electoral Commission is taking measures for the prompt supply of ballot-papers. The printing works are ready to go on printing ballot-papers today.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], cast his vote in a Sofia polling district in the morning. Dr Zhelev was cheered by voters and SDS supporters who chanted SDS.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), voted in the town of Belogradchik at 10:45 a.m. Mr Lilov is running for the National Assembly in a Belogradchik single-member constituency.

Mr Viktor Vulkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), voted in Varna this morning.

People's Militia: Vote Continuing 'Normally'

AU1006151690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] We have received an announcement from the People's Militia Press Bureau. As of 1500 [1100 GMT] voting throughout the country is continuing normally. No crude violations of public order or grave criminal acts have been registered. Cases of election canvassing have been observed in some places. Such actions violate Article 51 of the Elections Law, and can be subject to penalties. In Sliven and Gabrovo cars with loudspeakers have tried to campaign, while in Sofia and in other settlements there still are cars decorated with election material and flags. Up to this moment the organs of the People's militia have issued hundreds of warnings to the violators.

A People's Militia employee has not been allowed to vote at the 57th section of the 114th Ruse constituency. The chairman of the section did not allow him to vote because the militia employee was supposed to come to vote in uniform, albeit without a weapon.

From the Directorate of the People's Militia and the regional directorates of the Ministry of Internal affairs it has been announced that strictest measures will be adopted to protect public order and the legality of voting.

Observers Praise Democratic Process

AU1006174290 Sofia BTA in English
1710 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jun (BTA)—By 1700 more than 85 per cent of the electorate in the town of Kurdzhali had already cast their votes. The delegation of the National Republican Institute and of the National Democratic Institute for Foreign Relations of the United States headed by Mr. David Northcross visited Kurdzhali region. Mr. Northcross said they had visited 13 towns and villages in the Kirkov and the Krumovgrad Municipality and that they had no serious remarks to make as to the legality of the elections and the work of the electoral commissions. Mr. James Moody, U.S. Congressman, said that they had the opportunity of watching the elections in four military units; all electoral commissions included representatives of the ruling party and of the opposition parties and movements.

Four representatives of the International Honest Elections Commission, three U.S. citizens and one of Bangladesh, visited Ruse region. The guests were impressed that most voters came to the polling stations early in the morning and that it did not take them long to make up their minds and cast their votes. What matters is that something is being done for democracy, the foreign guests said.

In Plovdiv there has been registered an unlawful act on the part of the chairman of the electoral commission in a home for the aged. He was accused of trying to exert pressure on elderly voters. A protocol was made up and it was signed by representatives of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] and the Honest Elections Association and by guests.

In Blagoevgrad about 15 representatives of the Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, which is accused of anti-Bulgarian activity, created tensions in front of a polling station in Macedonia Square. They tried to make propaganda despite the ban on propaganda activity on election day. They acted in the presence of Yugoslav and other foreign journalists who are visiting the country as guests for the elections. The supporters of Ilinden started a controversy with the voters, who reacted sharply and indignantly to their behaviour. After they were warned by the law-enforcement authorities that their act amounts to a breach of the law, the Ilinden propagandists dispersed.

The Bundestag parliamentarians Mr. Gernot Erler and Mr. Alwin Brueck were among the foreign guests who visited Veliko Turnovo. They had a meeting with the cadets of the Vasil Levski Military School and familiarized themselves with the possibilities the cadets were given to take part in the election campaign and to exercise their right of voters on election day.

We saw cheerful and smiling people who waited in line to cast their votes, the guests told the BTA correspondent there. They were impressed that all polling stations which they managed to take a peep at were supplied with sufficient amounts of ballot papers of all the parties running in the elections. They said they had been informed about some rare cases in which the ban on propaganda activity on election day was not observed, but their general impression was that the cheerful mood of Sofia had reached Veliko Turnovo, too.

As to the free participation of military men in the elections, it is clear that everything has been done to prevent any manipulation, the guests said.

We are glad that democracy is making its way in Bulgaria as it has done in the other East European countries, the foreign observers pointed out.

SDS Secretary Beron on Possible Results

AU1006225590 Sofia BTA in English
2228 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—"If the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] wins the elections, this can be explained by the strong pressure from the Communists and the immovable nomenklatura and by the mechanisms rehearsed for 45 years," Dr. Petur Beron, secretary of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF], told a BTA reporter. "The Union of Democratic Forces will Comply with the election results because there is no information of serious irregularities or electoral fraud," Dr. Beron said.

The SDS leadership has not decided what to do if the SDS and the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian Party] collect less votes than the BSP but, as Dr. Beron put it, the BSP is the last party with which the SDS will form a coalition.

ASP Chairman 'Disappointed' With Early Results

AU1006230190 Sofia BTA in English
2226 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—Assoc. Prof. Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP), said he was disappointed at the early results of the elections. He told a BTA reporter that his party, which will probably return members to parliament, will seek to be a reasonable opposition. The ASP does not want a coalition with the BSP.

If the people vote for the ruling party after so many years of repression and incompetent economic management, it means that the people deserves this party and that this

party deserves this people. This means that this people likes to be tyrannized, Assoc. Prof. Vasilev said.

It is a shame to vote again for Todor Zhivkov and his party, Assoc. Prof. Nikolay Vasilev said.

Further on Unofficial Results

AU1106000190 Sofia BTA in English
2342 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—Representatives of the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party, the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF] and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party [BZNS] were not particularly surprised by the unofficial election results.

Mr. Dimitur Yonchev of the BSP emphasized that the voters had manifested their responsibility for this country's future.

Prof. Elka Konstantinova, president of the SDS-affiliated Radical Democratic Party, said that the greatest success of the elections had been the establishment of a multi-party parliamentary system. "The opposition has won recognition, and this is by far not insignificant," Mrs. Konstantinova said. She expected the opposition to perform worse because of "campaign manipulation and the unequal conditions in which the political forces were placed."

It has transpired that Mr. Petko Simeonov, the SDS campaign chief, has lodged a protest with the Central Electoral Commission over irregular electoral procedures in the towns of Pernik, Pazardzhik and Smolyan.

"The polarization of preferences does not come as a surprise," said Mr. Ivan Glushkov of the BZNS. He predicted that only few of the single-member constituencies will require a run-off election. He motivated the results by the still unemancipated consciousness of the people. "The manipulations do not date from the last few weeks alone, they have been there for decades," Mr. Glushkov emphasized. In his view, if the parliamentary elections were held after the local elections (which will probably take place in the autumn), public opinion would not have been that dramatically polarized.

While the representatives of the political forces were talking to reporters at the election press centre in the National Palace of Culture in downtown Sofia, two thousand SDS supporters besieged the building, chanting for an opposition victory and against the Socialist Party.

The law-enforcement authorities said the situation was under control.

Meanwhile the Central Electoral Commission has reported that it has not yet received a single polling district record of the vote count.

BSP, SDS Members Clash Over 'Irregularities'

AU1106063290 Sofia BTA in English
0154 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—The television cut short its live broadcast when representatives of the opposition and of the ruling party had an altercation in the TV studio at the Press Center.

Representatives and leaders of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] disclosed facts about gross abuses of the electoral process in Pazardzhik, but their account was interrupted by highranking officials of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Mr Georgi Pirinski and Mr Chavdar Kyuranov of the BSP Supreme Council interrupted the opposition representatives, claiming that the disclosures should be referred to the Central Electoral Commission.

The well-known actor Mr Yosif Surchadzhiev, an election agent for a SDS candidate in the town of Pazardzhik, as well as other members of the local SDS, said that vote count records had been unsealed and data therein and been "corrected," that a police officer had threatened the voters, that voters had been intimidated and that other irregularities had been committed.

UDF Protests 'Abuses'

AU1106071490 Sofia BTA in English
0631 GMT 11 Jun 90

["Protests in Sofia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] insists that new elections should take place in the polling districts where cases of fraud have been observed, the leader of the opposition Zhelyu Zhelev said. Early this morning he spoke before the SDS supporters in front of the building where the Elections Press Center is. "We will not compromise," Zhelyu Zhelev convinced them.

To their cries: "We want a general strike," he said: "if it is necessary we will go on strike."

The discontent comes from information about abuses mainly in the country. The people appeal to the SDS not to acknowledge the elections. There were protest acts in front of the National Assembly, where the Central Electoral Commission conferred.

The district SDS leadership will protest before the Central Electoral Commission for abuses of the Election Law. According to the constituency staff of the united opposition the abuses have been mainly in polling district 111 of Purvomay. In one of the polling districts the SDS representative was ordered by the commission chairman. [sentence as received] Many of the blue ballots were torn and thrown in front of the polling sections. A girl who has not yet turned 18 years of age was discovered to have cast her voice. At the end of the election day some of the ballot-boxes were taken at the municipal council without being sealed and in the

absence of the SDS representatives. They were taken there before the ballots were counted. The explanation was that it is easier to work at the municipality council.

Protests Continue in Sofia

AU1106074390 Sofia BTA in English 0730 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (BTA)—The first post-election day in Bulgaria started with demonstration around the National Assembly building where the Central Electoral Commission is conferring and the data are being processed.

The protests are against the Bulgarian Communist Party (now Socialist) which according to preliminary forecasts has priority to the opposition Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) [UDF].

The first official results for the 200 one-member districts voiced by Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission show that it is known for the time being that M.P.s candidates for 23 one-member districts have been elected—11 from the SDS, 10 from the BSP and 2 from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms. In 13 polling districts there will be a second polling tour in which candidates from the BSP and the SDS will compete.

Commission Official on Election 'Abuses'

AU1106063290 Sofia BTA in English 0226 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Mr Dimitur Popov of the Central Electoral Commission did not object to the abuses being made public because "if there are irregularities, they cannot be covered up," but he emphasized that the commission is entitled and obliged to check the tip-offs. He recalled that it is no use engaging in debates before learning the facts but invited the politicians and members of the public to come to the commission in order to explain the cases.

People chanting against the Socialist Party have gathered in front of the National Assembly building where the commission has its headquarters.

"The delay of the official declaration of the results should not be seen as a manipulation. The tip-offs will be checked," Mr Popov said. "There is no danger of the Central Commission reneging on the law. So far it has not made such a compromise," he recalled.

It was suggested that the Central Electoral Commission hold a session together with the public council set up under the national roundtable agreements.

A lot of people carrying vote count records are waiting at the Sofia City Council. The television showed members of polling district commissions exchanging records and looking through them. Some of them have been waiting to submit the records for several hours now. They say the reason is the bungled up arrangements made by the Sofia City Council.

Mr Popov emphasized that it is a matter of arrangements and not of a manipulation or of a breach of the law.

Official Results for 1st 23 Constituencies

AU1106071190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0636 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Dimitur Popov, secretary of the Central Election Commission will report the first official results:

[Popov] Esteemed listeners, I can already report the first official results of the elections for the Grand National Assembly, and more precisely, the people's deputies that have been elected in the single-deputy constituencies. As you recall, those are the people's deputies elected by the majority election system.

I have the final results of 23 single-deputy constituencies. The following candidates of the Union of Democratic forces [UDF] have been elected:
Prof Kontstantin Georgiev Tsanev, from the 178th Sofia Vuzrazhdane constituency;
Viktoria Antonova Dimova, SDS, from the 189th Sofia Iskur constituency;
Zakhari Todorov Karamfilov, from the 190th Sofia Iskur constituency;
Stelyan Iliev Stovchev, from the 193d Sofia Iskur constituency;
Mikhail Asenov Mikhaylov, from the 198th Sofia Vrubnitsa constituency;
Dimitur Asenov Kumanov, from the 176th Sofia Krasno Selo constituency;
Todor Petrov Kolev, from the 194th Sofia Vitosha constituency;
Aleksandur Panayotov Karakachanov, from the 180th Sofia Serdika constinuency;
Georgi Lyubenov Bunov, from the 101st Plovdiv constituency;
Ognyan Konstantinov Georgiev, from the 146th Blagoevgrad constituency;
Spas Simeonov Dimitrov, from the 145th Blagoevgrad constituency.

The following candidates of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] have been elected:
Ivan Dimitrov Velchev, from the 82d Vratsa constituency;
Vrubka Tsekova Obretsova, from the 78th Byala Slatina constituency;
Kiril Asparukhov Nikolov, from the 76th Kozloduy constituency;
Todor Ivanov Todorov, from the 79th Mezdra constituency;
Ivan Stefanov Ivanov, from the 66th Strazhitsa constituency;
Petur Georgiev Bashikarov, from the 85th Panagyurishte constituency;

Iliyan Zhivkov Iliev, from the 73th Mikhaylovgrad constituency;
Stoycho Mikhaylov Shapatov, from the 110th Purvomay constituency;
Vasil Ivanov Milkov, from the 46th Dolno Mitropolitski constituency;
Trifon Dimitrov Mitev, from the 160th Chirpan constituency;
Khasan Iliev Khasanov, from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [MRF], has been elected in the 174th Momchilgrad constituency; Yuliyan Karamfilov Efremov, from the MRF, was elected in the 170th Kirkovski constituency.

In addition, in 13 single-deputy constituencies no candidate was elected. In those constituencies, therefore, candidates of the BSP and the SDS will compete in a second round. In one constituency there will be a second round contest between representatives of the BSP and MRF.

Later on I will have more results of the single-deputy constituencies elections.

Former Communists 'Appeared To Have Won'

AU1106100590 Paris AFP in English 0932 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Jun (AFP)—The former Bulgarian Communist Party appeared to have won a general election nationally, but to have lost in the capital, forecasters said here on Monday [11 June] as counting continued.

The former communist party, now known as the Socialist Party, was forecast to win 47.8 per cent of the votes compared with 35.6 per cent for the Opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), whose supporters were deeply disappointed after reports late Sunday [10 June] that it had won seemed unfounded.

The estimates, carried out by the West German pollsters Infas, said that on these showings, the socialists would get 99 of the 200 seats in the future constituent assembly that are to allocated by proportional representation. The UDF would get 73 seats.

The other 200 seats are to be allocated by simple majority after the second round of voting next Sunday [17 June] and political observers said that the majority vote favoured the former Communists.

The Socialist Party gained most of its strength in the provinces where the old Communist infrastructure and some of the party's former local leaders still wield influence.

In Sofia, which has 1.5 million inhabitants, the UDF was shown to have won an absolute majority with 55.6 per cent of the vote compared with 37.9 per cent for the Socialists and 3.6 per cent for the Agrarian Party.

Despite many protests by the opposition, the first round of voting was held without major fraud being committed, international observers said late on Sunday. Some of them had noted irregularities which would not influence the result.

Infas said that the Agrarian Party was on course to win 8.1 per cent of the vote, and the Movement for Rights and Liberties, representing the Turkish minority, 5.9 per cent.

The Turkish minority party, led by 36-year-old philosopher Ahmed Dogan, was believed to have won nearly all the votes of the Turkish community which numbers about one million people.

Infas said that 34 other parties got 2.5 per cent and did not achieve the minimum 4 per cent required to be represented in the assembly. The figures were based on final results from 216 out of 250 polling booths selected by Infas on a representative basis.

It was Bulgaria's first free vote for 44 years, and was held without any major incidents. Official figures showed that of registered voters, 83 per cent turned out.

As the rumours of a UDF victory circulated late on Sunday, thousands of demonstrators with the blue flag of the party gathered in front of the Palace of Culture where the television and press electoral facilities were installed.

As the night progressed, two of the UDF leaders, Petko Simeonov and Peter Beron, tried to calm the demonstrators, and to boost their morale by saying that the first figures were merely forecasts and that the party would catch up in the second round.

Mr. Simeonov stressed that "democracy means tolerance" and that they had to "accept the rsults whatever they were".

The UDF is a collection of 16 opposition parties and movements which have programmes ranging from right-wing policies to social democracy. Observers said that it could well disintegrate after the elections.

The Socialist Party was successful because it was well established in the provinces, and its leaders, including outgoing Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov, are popular.

The former communists themselves began the process of democratic reform and their campaign suggested that they remained the driving force for economic recovery and protection of social services. They also said that even if they won an absolute majority, they would invite other parties to participate in a coalition government.

They were assisted by the weakness and by the mistakes of the untried opposition which based its campaign on strident anti-communism and scare tactics.

In supporting former Communists, the Bulgarian voters have acted similarly to the Romanians, but in contrast to

voters in East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia who have decisively rejected their former masters.

BSP Pressure, Violence in Campaign Alleged

AU0806143490 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 31 May 90 p 1

[Katya Vladimirova report: "Election Diary"]

[Text] In the village of Govedarovo, municipality of Georgi Dmayanovo, No. 72 Constituency, the leadership of the "Forestry" Labor Production Cooperative refuses to pay the workers wages, unless they purchase stamps for the Bulgarian Socialist Party's election fund. Amadeus Krustev, representative of the local Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], reported to our newspaper, after he was alerted by one of the agricultural workers in question, mother of five children, who refused to purchase the one-leva stamp.

In the village of Mirkovo, Sofia Oblast, an active fighter against fascism assaulted SDS [UDF] member Nikola Kozarov, beating him up, after which he declared that he would pay 100 leva to anyone ready to take down the SDS banner which was hoisted on a pine tree in the village. No one accepted the offer, but the banner was taken down in the night of 26-27 May and the pine tree was damaged.

Recently, in Dimitrovgrad "Chernokonyovo" district, at a BSP election rally with Ivan Ganev, candidate of the No. 163 Multimandate Constituency, two "civilian" pensioners attended the rally carrying sub-machine guns, under the leadership of Georgi Ovcharov, former deputy chief of the town's Ministry of Internal Affairs forces.

Soldiers Allegedly 'Ordered' To Vote for BSP

AU0806134290 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 1 Jun 90 p 1

[Katya Vladimirova report under the rubric: "Election Diary"]

[Excerpt] The chief of the Land Forces Administration, whose offices are in Slivnitsa Street and Rakovski Street in Sofia, ordered all of his subordinates to vote for the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], and made a list of their numbers in the electoral registers. This order was issued to all units, reports Margarita Kostova of Sofia.

In Levski Municipality, in the village of Bulgarene, and in other villages, television technicians have been going from house to house under the pretext of checking television sets and preparing them for the reception of new programs. However, their real mission was to frighten people by telling them that hidden cameras would be installed in the voting booths during the elections to observe who votes for which candidate, M. Popova reports.

Tsanko Baychev, coordinator of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces—UDF] in Mikhaylovgrad and Lovech Oblasts, warns us that people in the cooperative in the village of Sopot, Lovech Oblast, promised to give lambs for fattening to people who join the BSP. [passage omitted]

BSP Council Supports Mladenov 6 Jun Appeal

AU0806114190

[Editorial Report] Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian on 7 June on page 1 publishes a 400-word "Declaration of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party" in support of president Mladenov's appeal of 6 June, which the Supreme Council adopted at a meeting in Sofia on 6 June. The declaration states that the council "fully shares the president's concern and alarm over the rising degree of tension, as well as the need to ensure calm and order in the country, and tolerance and mutual respect between competitors in the election campaign." In conclusion, the declaration states: "We appeal to our political partners from the other parties and call on all political forces, in accordance with the agreements signed at the roundtable and the Law on Elections for a Grand National Assembly, to wage a honest election campaign in conditions of civic peace and calm, to show good sense, and to refrain from any actions which might compromise the country's peaceful transition to democracy."

Holding of ASP News Conference Reported

AU0906194590 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 31 May 90 p 4

[Mariana Kostova report: "Politics in a Cheerful Mood"]

[Text] At a news conference of the Alternative Socialist Party [ASP] held yesterday, Docent Nikolay Vasilev, chairman of the party, acquainted the journalists with the ASP declaration on sociopolitical guarantees, stating that if this declaration should be adopted as an addition to the text of the president's non-violence agreement, the ASP would be willing to sign the agreement. Mr Vasilev expressed his misgivings about the Bulgarian Television's and Radio's discriminatory policy regarding his party, as a result of which the ASP has no opportunity of introducing and presenting its candidates for National Assembly deputies in an appropriate manner. He briefed the journalists on facts regarding attempts to deliberately fail to indicate the party affiliation of ASP supporters who are members of local electoral commissions.

ASP spokesman Svetoslav Peev also informed the journalists on the party's growing popularity and on the good cooperation with local Union of Democratic Forces [SDS—UDF] representatives.

The party's leaders declared that negotiations with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] are likely to take place only under the condition that the BSP gets rid of nomenklatura people and members who have disgraced

themselves. As far as elections are concerned, the unofficial, preliminary forecast indicates that the ASP is expected to win approximately 10 percent of the votes—a little more than the official Bulgarian National Agrarian Party [BZNS].

* BSP Leader Lilov on Political Situation

90BA0105A Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 15, 16 May 90

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov by Velislava Dureva "in April 1990"; place not given: "I Have Always Been Attracted by Intellectual and Not Political Power"—first paragraph is DUMA introduction]

[15 May p 5]

[Text] We look around corners and behind armchairs, we look for a socket in which to plug the tape recorder and try to set straight the various nicknames, determine the color of his banner, and the name of his socialist party, and identify names such as Silver Fox, Lukcho, Mechanical Voice, Kermit, Michman, Pastor, Psalt, Aleksandur Khalilov, etc.

[Dureva] Do we have some kind of ghost roaming here?

[Lilov] Yes, I long objected to entering this office, feeling the existence of something.... It was as much a psychological as a spiritual phenomenon. I think that the way it has been repainted....

[Dureva] Careful when you use this word!

[Lilov] Disinfected! Let me use a word which you find more acceptable and which is more accurate, in my view; it has been disinfected not only physically but also spiritually, with the pictures which I love. This is an environment in which I could live. The old spirit could not have lived in this environment.

[Dureva] Do you think that after the disinfection the bacillus has been removed?

[Lilov] I think so. These premises contained entirely different things which were encouraging the old spirit.

[Dureva] What inspired the old spirit?

[Lilov] It was inspired by itself, most likely! Above all, by its own interests!

[Dureva] We shall return to the old spirit. Now, let us find a starting point for the present conversation. Let us take, for instance, the notorious "unity." What kind of unity could be in question in this party which contains a number of parties and in which the space between the Left and the Right is greater than the distance between the Left in the BSP and the Left in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]? Is it not time to separate ourselves from some people? I personally do not wish to be in the same party with them. If they are polite enough to leave they would render an invaluable service to the party.

[Lilov] You are asking me a very big question which cannot be answered quickly and easily. It has a principled aspect: No political party can carry out its purpose. It is simply doomed if it lacks inner unity—ideological, political, moral, and organizational. This question has a historical side and has been interpreted differently during the different historical periods covered by the party. It has always been a specific question and must be considered under the conditions in which the party works. Unfortunately, the question of unity has experienced a number of deformations. The most difficult is the formula of monolithic unity, which led the party to a pyramid of obedient people, incapable of thinking creatively, independently, and in a modern fashion; unable to be consistent with the times and its purpose and answer the questions raised by the present and by society. Instead of serving society, it serves the dictator, and its purpose is to implement that which someone else has decided in its stead. This formula brought about a number of difficulties. I reject such monolithic unity, considering it anti-unity.

[Dureva] Some people call the BSP and the SDS "two giants." However, these two giants are being torn by internal contradictions. Into how many parts will the BSP break down after the election?

[Lilov] I suggest that we ignore this feature. There is a limit beyond which the person interviewed will find himself in a more difficult position. I am sure that the BSP will continue its development on this level. It is impossible for the BSP to include such polarization. This will bring actions within such poles and resolve things. I believe that we should leave this question to be answered by time and time does not forget to resolve pressing problems. Such problems will emerge on the surface in the immediate future. With such an answer there will be all too many people to oppose me.

[Dureva] The conservatives will now say once again that you are the party's liquidator.

[Lilov] This is terminology which the authoritarian rulers invented and were very fond of: There were liquidators, reformists, revisionists, all in all we had a rich range of labels and we were able to classify anyone we found inconvenient or else likable, and so on. If we were able to apply this terminology, we could say that the real liquidators of the party are the authoritarian politicians, the conservatives, the dogmatists who made the party what it was. This is the main danger in terms of the liquidation or, more accurately, the self-liquidation of the party. The threat consists of the possibility that the party may remain in its former condition. At that point it could self-liquidate, as was the case with Poland: The Polish party was late in self-renovating and reforming itself and dropped from 2 million to 35,000 members.

[Dureva] But could it be that there were precisely 35,000 people who were willing to be members of such a party?

[Lilov] Perhaps. I do not claim that I am the most competent judge or analyst of the Polish case. However,

this is a very heavy blow for the party. Probably at this time there are as many Communists and, perhaps, from this viewpoint, you may be right. I believe, however, that if our party continues to renovate itself, as it has begun to do, it will never be liquidated and will become stronger and that should be known by our opponents. I told them that we shall have the best newspaper in Bulgaria and I think that we do have such a newspaper. We shall have the most beautiful party! Naturally, if we succeed. If we fail we shall experience a grave personal and social disappointment and will have to leave the stage. However, I hope that we shall succeed.

[Dureva] Do you not fear that you may turn out to be the leader of a very old party in which the average age will be slightly lower than its centennial?

[Lilov] You stepped on my corn! (He laughs.)

[Dureva] I know that it is a corn. Otherwise I would not have asked the question.

[Lilov] Indeed, it is painful but I am less fearful, for I am sure the party will become rejuvenated. In the various meetings that I attend I see everywhere white or gray hair and very rarely rich black hair, the kind that makes revolutions, which fires up ideas, which fears nothing, for this belongs to the young. One of my greatest joys at the 3 April meeting in Sofia was the islands of unruly black hair. If you ask me what was my greatest joy, that was it! However, the problem remains. We accept new members and, strange though it might seem, they are young people. I asked them why are they joining the party. I heard very interesting and honest answers! The requests we are currently getting on petitions to join the party (I would like you to include this in the interview) are radically different from the statements which were submitted by my generation. My generation came to the party on the wings of idealism, the wings of romanticism, the wings of a fanatical faith. Today the young come with a conviction of a different quality. I believe that the young have not been disappointed by the socialist idea, for it includes the values of freedom, democracy, humanism, and equality. The young were disappointed in us who poorly implemented these ideas so far. If the party acts sufficiently consistent in its renovation, if it is properly sincere in conducting its dialogue with the young, it is bound to attract many new young people.

[Dureva] But even in the past there had been many "sincere" talks with the young, all of them kind of intimate....

[Lilov] No, they were not sincere, they were claimed as such. We did not know how to talk with the young and even less so how to listen to the young. We acted as mentors.

[Dureva] You used a very strange method to educate us.

[Lilov] Yes, that was the trouble....

[Dureva] Fortunately, we turned out to be horribly poor students.

[Lilov] Sometimes it is the poor students who end up as first-rate people in life.

[Dureva] You wrote in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA that "if we avoid making some major errors we shall win the elections." What could such errors be?

[Lilov] Political errors alone could deprive us of the opportunity of winning the elections. For example, if we abandon the truth or democracy or else if we fail to formulate and implement a good program for reform, i.e., if we announce unrealistic objectives or if we have no intention of implementing these programs. We cannot wait for the elections and only then undertake to make reforms. It would be a major political error if we start playing at reform, if we promise reforms without making both political and economic reforms. This is a danger which threatens us: to announce something which we are not about to do or else to do it inefficiently.

[Dureva] It seems to me that such is precisely the situation today....

[Lilov] I believe that we... how many months have passed since 10 November? I believe that Bulgaria has changed politically quite a lot and I believe that our party deserves some credit for such changes. Do you agree?

[Dureva] At the 14th Congress you said the following: "For the past two days here we have been committing suicide." Three months have passed but the renovation is taking place slowly and painfully. Can you now say: "We have been committing suicide for the past three months?"

[Lilov] No. I believe that now we can say that for the past three months we have been trying to straighten up and go forward. We cannot say that we are moving at the necessary speed, at the necessary pace. However, everyone can see that the party is awakening, that the party is acting, that the party is renovating itself. The best evaluation is the one made by the people. Look at those huge meetings! The people can see, appreciate, and encourage renovation processes. This is the truth.

[Dureva] In noticing the actions of the VPS [Higher Party Council], although such a council had also been set up by Mussolini....

[Lilov] Is it so? I did not know that! But before him it was also set up by Blagoev! (He laughs.)

[Dureva] Yes... it makes me think of blotting paper. The VPS blots all kinds of rational ideas coming from all possible directions, from the SDS, the reform trends within the BSP—and presents it as its own. This is not all that bad, bearing in mind that the previous leadership could hear nothing but its own voice.

[Lilov] This is extremely interesting (he laughs). This is our own Bulgarian provincialism in terms of interpreting matters. In the past six or seven years I have dealt exclusively with science and please believe me that I am

quite well-informed in the area of political science. I find very interesting and even very entertaining the fact that some of our politicians believe that they are the originators of some of these ideas. This is quite curious and quite sad, occasionally, for it proves that as a political society we are not in step with what is happening in Europe and throughout the world. These ideas have long been implemented in our vicinity, by our neighbors, by the neighboring countries. For the past 20 years these ideas have been practiced in Europe by the social democratic and liberal parties. Ideas are shaped on the basis of the experience of mankind and of global politics. Whereas we have now begun to claim that they are our patent and license. The Bulgarian believes that everything begins with him, that everything is born here, and he wonders why the world does not recognize, that the world cannot see that all great ideas have been born in the SDS or somewhere else and that we have stolen them! (He laughs.)

[Dureva] You evaded my question, but we have nothing against stealing our ideas as long as they are being implemented!

[Lilov] As Moliere says: "I take that which I need wherever I can find it." However, I do not find it in the SDS. For the time being, I find it in the advanced countries. I do not claim to be superoriginal in my ideas. However, I do claim that I am quite familiar with political life in Europe and throughout the world and that I try to draw from them the most progressive aspects which I find in the new political thinking. The new political thinking was not born in our country. It was born elsewhere.

[Dureva] Are you not bothered that the party, such as it is now, could win the elections? I believe that if the BSP would win, it would lose and that if it loses the elections, it would win.

[Lilov] I would like for the party, the renovated party, to win....

[Dureva] But the party has not become renovated!

[Lilov] It is a party which is renovating itself! (Laughter.) Winning the elections would encourage, would stimulate the renovation process. Until the elections this process will advance to a level of irreversibility, regardless of the results of the elections. I am certain of one thing: The electoral campaign is encouraging the renovation of the party.

[Dureva] You're an optimist.

[Lilov] By nature I am an optimist, a restrained optimist, a realistic optimist. Opposite trends are also possible, which would hinder renovation, which would delay it, hold it back, and deviate it. However, the reformation of the party is already an irreversible process. Just think that if one year ago the party was what it is now, one-half of the party members would have filled the positions in various institutions and openings!

[Dureva] Some people would have confidently done that.... But do you not think that if a renovated party would win the elections the familiar syndrome of "this too will do" would be enacted, i.e., "without making any changes we could win the elections and once again become the ruling party." And then everything would be as of old.

[Lilov] No, I do not fear this development, because I am familiar with the present party leadership and the present party line. The true reformers are not people who change with the situation. These are people who are convinced of the fact that the party can be a factor in the promotion of democracy, but only if it is renovated. We have realized that this party will have a future only if it is renovated. There are those who do not understand and do not trust us. However, we cannot be blamed for that. This is their business (he laughs).

[Dureva] Listening to you, it seems to me that in terms of the renovation you are relying on reformers and in terms of the elections on the conservatives.

[Lilov] As for the elections, I am betting on the people and as to the renovation of the party, on anyone who understands the need for this as being the only possible future for our party, so far best expressed by the reformist forces within it. However, I perceive the renovation as a process and I do not believe that the only people who participate in it are the select. I am very suspicious of those who say "I am the only reformer!" "You shall know him by his deeds," we read in a wise book.

[Dureva] A maxim reads that "let us fall from power in order to become people."

[Lilov] This is interesting! (He laughs.) However, the times are such that it is very important when a party should be in power and when it should not. I am confident that in the not so distant future there will be a political democratic system in Bulgaria in which political forces will probably alternate. However, speaking frankly, and I do wish to be frank, Bulgaria should ask itself three questions: Are the other political forces ready to manage it in such a way as to take it out of the crisis and give it a future, for it is not a question merely of a change in governments....

[Dureva] Or else a question of changing colors....

[Lilov] Which is very easy, as you can see. What matters is for Bulgaria to be given a leadership which will end its crises and will reform it politically and stabilize it economically, and establish a true, you understand, a truly democratic way of life which will make the normal development of political forces possible. Such forces should train experienced, competent, and responsible people who will be able to administer this country. Bulgaria has always suffered from a lack of good politicians. It has good soldiers. Bulgaria has excellent soldiers. Bulgaria has incredibly good soldiers.

[Dureva] Nonetheless, we are not living in barracks!

[Lilov] Yes, a state is not a barracks. Many of our difficulties in the past and now have come from the fact that our politicians have not been on the level required by their time. That is why many of the problems have not been solved the way they should have been, problems pertaining to territory, economics, politics, and freedom. Bulgaria has always lacked strong politicians although I may perhaps insult some people or be disturbing someone's restful sleep.

[Dureva] Today's politicians—let us limit ourselves merely to the BSP—do they meet the requirements of the time? I think that there is a lack of anticipating initiative and that the BSP is following the tail end of events and that it is necessary for some to give it a push—whether the SDS or the domestic opposition.

[Lilov] I do not mean in the least that we, in our party, are the flower of Bulgarian political thinking and practice. Neither I nor my colleagues have this feeling. We are what we are. Whether we are good or bad will be assessed by the people, by history. In any case, we know what must not be done. We have experienced it.

[Dureva] Historical evaluations always come later. Does the SDS have such type of politicians?

[Lilov] I hope so! However, I do not know when they will appear. Even today there are people who, in all likelihood, will become politicians but who need time. Our opposition is young and we do not have to be bothered by some exotic aspects of our political reality (he laughs). They are inevitable. That is why I try to show maximum patience and tolerance and the wish... to help, and I am not putting the word in quotation marks!... We are helping with a constructive attitude and understanding, with the development of a policy of dialogue, etc. If we have no strong opposition our renovation will be slowed down. I dream of a single yet democratic opposition. Someone should be pressuring us, someone should compete with us, someone should constantly even threaten to become stronger than we are. At that point we shall be growing faster. If a party lives in a state of political comfort and political luxury it becomes lazy. I believe that the SDS or, more precisely, the Bulgarian political opposition, will develop to an extent which will be useful to a future democratic Bulgaria and to our party renovation (he smiles meaningfully). As to the present SDS, evaluating the SDS is the job of the SDS itself.

[Dureva] All right, we shall not rate the SDS. All that I will ask you is what does the SDS have that you envy and would like for the party to have?

[Lilov] I do not feel jealous of the SDS.

[Dureva] Who was being more obstructionist at the round table?

[Lilov] Difficult to say. The round table is a particular type of talk. Discussion is an art of compromise and decisionmaking, useful to everyone and acceptable to both sides. There were times when we were hesitant and there were times when the SDS was hesitant and there were times when the SDS could not reach an agreement within itself and there were times when the SDS laid itself bare and it was exclusively our tolerance that rescued it.

[Dureva] Are you serious? That was not my impression!

[Lilov] You are not observant!

[Dureva] I was looking quite closely! What if it was the SDS that was kind?

[Lilov] Well, naturally, even if that were to be the case you would not mention it. But let me be objective. There was a constructive line to be followed and, in the final account, in both parties the forces which were in favor of reaching an agreement prevailed. I have a great deal of respect for Zhelyu Zhelev. I respect his tolerance. He is a constructive personality. I believe that his convictions are democratic. Or else, take Dr. Dertliev or.... But let us stop at this point, let us not err. However, the weakness of the opposition is that it is a force of negation and not as yet a force of positive principle. A country cannot be governed through rejection but with a program and leaders who can implement such a program. The easiest thing is to say "no." A political party has no future if the only word it knows is "no." It should be able to do something else as well.

[Dureva] The opposition is strong because of a feeling of rejection, the critical feeling has always been more vital. Before one is able to say "yes" one should be able to say "no" to many things. And there are plenty of things to say "no" to. The opposition is also strong because it has behind it a 100-year old history with at least 45 years of errors.

[Lilov] This is true. This complicates matters. However, these 45 years did not consist exclusively of errors. Furthermore, it is not such a great merit or advantage to have no history behind oneself, for one does not know what type of history one could have had, better or worse than any other.

[Dureva] Yesterday you said: "There are some people at the round table who are to the right of Zhelyu, who are more dangerous than we are."

[Lilov] Yes, I can confirm this thought. I fear some people who, because of their convictions, evaluations, and in their speeches promise Bulgaria a future which may turn out to be more dangerous than the one of the old regime. I see no difference between them. One cannot, on the basis of hatred, on the basis of hostility and revenge, build a democratic state. This is out of the question. It would mean repeating the error and history repeats itself either as a tragedy or as a farce, as someone said. I also see here many serious democrats and nondemocrats. However, I shall name no one so that you will not think that I would like to break with the SDS.

[Dureva] In the SDS and, more specifically, the Glasnost and Democracy Club, in Ekoglasnost, there are many members of the BSP. We are both an external and internal opposition, for many of us also belong to the radical factions within the party. Generally speaking, the configuration is quite complex.

[Lilov] But I do not consider you as opposition! (He laughs.) I would like you to put this down, if we are to be honest. However, let me specify that I do not consider you a political opposition, for the Ekoglasnost Club does not constitute a variety of political party. It is an association of people with different ideological views and I see nothing strange for communists to participate in such associations. I consider you a reformist ferment, if you can be satisfied with this definition, or, more precisely, a permanent civil opposition.

[Dureva] A name change is assessed as a change of shingle, as demagogy, as a propaganda trick and, furthermore, as the latest camouflage aimed at the West—which perhaps could help us with a few dollars—i.e., "here there are no communists, we are socialists, please, we put an end to this compromising idea and let the past be the past...."

[Lilov] This is a very great error from the intellectual viewpoint and a kind of poorly conceived political game. A party cannot be assessed, particularly in the mature and very experienced Western democracies and countries, by its label. We could hastily rename our party several more times, we know how to do this in Bulgaria. However, a name is part of the renovation of the party. To begin with, we cannot allow ourselves to define, as we did in the past, the historical objective of the party. We linked the party to an objective which was so distant as to make it impossible for a person to define it realistically. In the name of this unclear and remote objective, in the name of communism, we accomplished great things but also most terrible things were done as well. To make this party a modern party we must set ourselves realistic objectives—democracy, justice, freedom, human rights, a government of law. These are the values of socialism, these values were summed up by us within the concept of democratic centralism. These values must be implemented in Bulgaria. Your colleagues in Plovdiv suggested a very witty name for the party: Union of Democratic Socialism, SDS No. 2, to put an end to the slogan of "Down With the BCP!" However, since we expected very strong attacks on the part of the SDS, we decided to call ourselves the BSP. This is the first reason. It affects the essence of things and the name cannot be separated from the scene. The second reason pertains to the need to separate ourselves but not for the sake of demagogy but of the great importance of that to which we must say "no." As to the camouflage, this is a part of a current political repertory and I pay no great attention to it.

[Dureva] It turns out, however, that the "renegade" Kautskiy was right!

[Lilov] The "renegade" Kautskiy should be reread and the entire social democratic thinking should be reread as well for, as practical experience confirmed, it contains many accurate and useful truths. This is the truth and there is no reason to shut our eyes to it. In addition to social democratic theory there also are other humanistic progressive theories and trends in global thinking which have also been the origin of many accomplishments. For a long time we considered the Club of Rome a typical bourgeois center of scientists. It turned out, however, that long before us, 10 to 20 years ago, they not only cautioned but also did work on basic ecological problems which are shaking up today all of us. Our spiritual outlook must be greatly expanded....

[Dureva] This was written in 1983 in a report which was not read in a plenum which was not held, if I am not mistaken.

[Lilov] Yes, and in a very daring article which, as it were, was not published: "Marx and the Challenges of the New Times."

[Dureva] Were you demoted because of the article or the report?

[Lilov] For both, and not only because of them only.

[Dureva] This was the pretext. What about the reason?

[Lilov] The reason was the profound differences which appeared separating me from my predecessor, the former holder of the position.

[Dureva] Actually, the widespread opinion is that Zhivkov's trial is being delayed because he knows a great deal and could bring down a number of people.

[Lilov] I do not find serious grounds for this opinion. If they existed, we would have proceeded like the Romanians. Actually, they destroyed the traces by destroying the bearers of the secrets. We did not act in that manner. We do not wish to repeat the distortions which were allowed by him and by his regime. It was not only the state that he ruled in an authoritarian way. He ruled justice in the same manner. As to political liability, the party has put an end to this matter. He was expelled from the party. The other problem is not within the competence of the party and we have no intention of repeating the old "experience:" for us to determine when the trial will be or to organize it. The court will have its say after the investigation has been completed. The type of political barbarism which was allowed in Romania is inadmissible in Bulgaria. For as long as I am here I shall defend the concept that this person can be tried and be sentenced most strictly but only by a court of law, on the basis of the law and nothing else. We shall not violate the law regardless of the politics of the people. Otherwise we cannot be a rule-of-law state. There have been many violations of the law and it is quite terrible to violate the law, as you can see in the case of Lovech. I am interested in having this trial take place as soon as possible, for the

party will become more influential as a result of it. However, I have no intention of interfering.

[Dureva] I heard a figure mentioned—that his mysterious "circle" numbers 1,600 people....

[Lilov] This is the first time that I heard this statistical figure. It is very easy to link someone to something. This is as immoral as the persecution of the past. Everything must be absolutely accurately established either as a truth or as a fact. Otherwise we shall repeat our unfortunate story when we struggle not against criminals but against individuals, using the instrument of slander. This tradition of ours is a sad one.

[Dureva] You mentioned Lovech. Are there other "skeletons in the closet?"

[Lilov] Probably. I am in favor of the full truth. One must know the entire truth concerning the long civil war which was waged in our country. However terrible it may be, the wisest lessons must be derived from this truth. Do you know what is wisest? To put an end to the civil war, to killing, to illegality, to the camps. To conclude a civil peace as was done by other civilized nations. We must turn this page and look ahead.

[Dureva] Where were you on 10 November?

[Lilov] On 10 November I was in London. Let me not lie to you.... The latest story concerning our Institute of Contemporary Social Theories was fabricated and that was the reason for my visit. There are those who link it to the 10 November events....

[Dureva] Were you totally unaware?

[Lilov] I cannot say that but in any case I was there for the sake of the institute, for the former title holder and his assistants wanted to close it down. This was the favorite way used in dealing with some people.

[Dureva] But then they closed down a section in another institute for the sole sake of firing Zhelyu Zhelev.

[Lilov] Yes, this is a typical way of dealing by an authoritarian system. It had already become commonplace. Fortunately, at that time we were able to prevent the dismantling of the institute and then those beautiful things happened....

[16 May p 5]

[Dureva] When did you realize that you would be the chairman of the VPS? How long before the congress were you aware of it?

[Lilov] You are forcing me to be modest. "I never presumed" is probably the answer you expected (he laughs).

[Dureva] I am familiar with this type of answer. I expected an entirely different one.

[Lilov] Yes, you know....

[Dureva] Yesterday you said that politics takes place behind closed doors....

[Lilov] I would rather not answer this question....

[Dureva] Why?

[Lilov] Because I do not want to. To tell you honestly, this has never been part of my objective. I do not wish to be hypocritical. I do not depict myself as excessively modest or as some kind of icon-type personality. However, I have never had any lofty objective such as this one. I was more attracted, if you want me to be most sincere, to intellectual power. I would like to rule intellectually and not politically. Political rule is an easy rule. It can be achieved very easily and can corrupt a person quite quickly, whereas intellectual power is something spiritual, it provides a satisfaction to the individual, to the mind.

[Dureva] Have you experienced it?

[Lilov] Very rarely, whenever I have been able to capture an idea which had a new sound, or which expressed something more profound, some trend, or else which helped to see a given phenomenon more precisely, more accurately, or else to look ahead into the future. I am more attracted to the power of the spirit than to political power. I have had the latter in the past as well at a time when it provided unlimited rights.

[Dureva] What did it do to you?

[Lilov] It probably influenced my personality and my activities and I also probably made mistakes. There are things about which a person must think and which he must correct and be responsible for. As a whole, however, I do not think that I became a victim of the power. Essentially I am not a power-loving person, in the political meaning of the term if I may say so, in the authoritarian, the despotic meaning. However, a politician is not indifferent to power. Anyone who would tell you that he is would be lying. Politics means power. However, one must have a strong character to be able to resist the temptations of power. One must protect oneself above all.

[Dureva] Were you able to do so?

[Lilov] As an idea, as a position, as a faith and spirituality, I dare to claim, as well as a morality, I believe that I have, although no single politician could claim that he has remained entirely untouched by power. Great power is dangerous to a person. From time to time a politician should change professions.

[Dureva] There are those who believe that you used the six years during which you were not on the political stage as an excuse.

[Lilov] I do not wish on anyone such an excuse, even on my enemies. I have no reason to be ashamed of the way I left this building. Why is it that no one else has such a good excuse for that period and with that type of

permission? I have never made use of it. After the 10th I left for London and I had absolutely no intention of becoming involved with the authorities. Even... but let us leave this aside. I do not need a note of apology and those years were not easy for me. During those terrible moments there are three things that could save a person: his belief in something; second, his friends; and third, his family. If these are not available he would be sent to the insane asylum or else... put an end to himself.

[Dureva] When the Ruse Committee was created, followed by the Glasnost and Democracy Club, as they summoned us here and there and asked us a lot of nice questions, they always told us that we were naive and we were being led, that we did not suspect that there were dark forces behind all this and that we should pay attention, for it was through us that they wanted to return to the political stage.

[Lilov] Yes, that is what you were being told. Meanwhile, in the Politburo names were named. I could say with the same level of success that I organized a guerrilla detachment. The truth is that many of the creators of the club are my personal friends. Such is the case.

[Dureva] By reading your biographic reference a person would say that here is a nomenclature come alive. I could find justification in the case of an 18-year old boy. But what about later? Now everyone says that it was horrible to work with Zhivkov, that he was an unbearable type of person, a bandit, and so on. If it was all that horrible, why were you there? Secondly, remember the saying that birds of a feather flock together.

[Lilov] It all depends on when you get together. If you get together at the age of 15 you will become like the other person. This question is sensible and you have the right to ask it, why is it that we tolerated for such a long time this despotic leader who, it is my deep conviction, had neither political nor intellectual, not to mention moral qualities which a party leader must possess. We are responsible for the fact that we tolerated this system and this person for such a long time, for it is not a question merely of the person but also of the system. The system properly regulated the lack of control and the possibility to react. It was created, tried, and tested both as a mechanism, a principle, and as a spirit. Everything developed well in the course of decades and does not have hitches. However, this cannot be considered a satisfactory answer. There is something else as well: The system creates the type of leaders, creates them because it needs them, it molds them because they are consistent with it, it tolerates them near it for they develop within it properly. At the same time, the dictators themselves develop a great deal of safe ways and means of dealing with anything which threatens them. They deal with them at the right time, not at the time of the "crime" but at the time when they become convinced that a person is threatening to them. They could do anything to remove someone. They killed Vavilov, who was a scientific genius. They killed Tukhachevskiy, who was a genius in the Armed Forces, and Mayyerkhold, who was a genius in the theater. The system does not tolerate a great personality. It does not tolerate a creative personality or independent thinking. They are contraindicated to the system and the dictator has strongly developed instincts to this effect. He removes such people on time and has no difficulty in fabricating the way through which this will be done.

[Dureva] Nonetheless, you were part of the system for quite some time. How did you do it and at what cost?

[Lilov] I do not know.... I was one of the most enthusiastic idealists. I had a very strong belief in the communist idea. I was a romantic. It was literally on the day after my high school graduation, at the age of 18, I decided to remain in Belogradchik, in the Komsomol; at the age of 19 I became part of the "nomenclature." You can judge of their stupidity, when at the age of 25 I was promoted first secretary of the Vidin Okrug BCP Committee.

[Dureva] Who was stupid, you or they?

[Lilov] They, they! I had no pull whatsoever. I do not believe that the system was bad in everything. I do not take my case as an example. At that time a society was being created and the system was seeking, and was being joined by, the best. I do not believe I was among the best but the people with whom I worked were. We had no food, subsisting on marchpane and wafers (ever since then I can't stand them); I contacted pleurisy. Do you know who cured me? The second secretary's mother. The second secretary was older than I was and was the son of a murdered partisan and should have been first secretary by right. However, our relations were so pure that his mother took me into their home. I had no mother. I lost my mother very early in life, and it was this woman who welcomed me and every day, during those hungry years, she would go and buy a pullet or a cup of honey and an egg, and since then I have grown allergic to those foods as well. It was she who cured me without a single pill. These were pure, incredible relations, inordinately beautiful relations!...

We accepted everything on faith. However, we were lucky to experience the 20th Congress. That was the great doubt, the great disappointment, the great crumbling of the idols. We were asked to doubt the very essence, to doubt the father of the world, to doubt the genius, to doubt the sun, to doubt everything. At that point we returned to Marx's slogan: "Question everything." I would not say that we became skeptics but we began to think, to educate ourselves, realizing that faith was bringing nothing but error. It was our generation that created the greatest and most unpleasant personalities but also the most interesting reformers. Such upheavals are necessary. It is in the course of such upheavals that the personality is shaped.

[Dureva] I understand. But why did you remain so long in this position? Was it with the illusion that you could change something or was it that you had no strength to leave?

[Lilov] I believe that the former was prevalent but certainly the latter was of some importance as well. When you reach the level which I had reached in recent years it is not easy to drop out voluntarily. It means resigning. At that time the concept of resignation was impossible to accept, and when I wrote this word in my petition, the result was a shock. The word resignation was unseemly, unacceptable. Yet this is the most normal word in politics. However, it was abnormal because the system was abnormal. Therefore, to a certain extent the latter may also be important, the fact that one could not leave voluntarily.

[Dureva] No, no, I am referring to an inner feeling! An inner readiness! The system is what it is but the personality should react or at least have a protective reflex.

[Lilov] Yes, both are important. Both the individual and the system must bear the responsibility. I shall not be justifying myself either to the party or to history should I write my memoirs.

[Dureva] The errors made by the person Aleksandur Lilov are his own, his personal errors. But the errors committed by a politician are political errors, they are social.

[Lilov] Yes, the errors of the individual are those of the individual, of daily life. However, the errors of a politician almost always become something more than his own errors and may even have very terrible consequences should that person, for example, be a dictator, a single ruler, and even an authoritarian politician. In that sense I cannot claim that my errors were harmless, nor can I say that there is a politician in the world who has not made an error. This would be an illusion or naivete. In politics, I consider terrible a crime and not an error. Equally terrible is a delayed correction of an error. The intelligent politician should be able to withstand criticism, to hear it, and to trigger it and if it is lacking, to promote it himself in order to be able to correct his wrong decisions and actions.

[Dureva] Politics is impossible without compromise. Where do you draw the line of compromise, what type of compromise is acceptable and what type is not?

[Lilov] Politics in inconceivable and impossible without compromise. One could say that, to some extent, it is the art of compromise, for it deals with the interests of individuals, groups of individuals, countries, groups of countries, etc. The good, the useful, the mutually acceptable compromise is the equivalent of great and right policy. However, your question is about the limits of compromise, for it is precisely at that point that we draw the fine line between good politics and unprincipled politics, which always leads to negative consequences, from violating someone's interests to crime. To me the boundary of compromise in politics is the radical interests of the people, the nation, the state. The limit of compromise for a politician is drawn by his principles, his morality. If these two are violated he becomes an unprincipled politician and from an art compromise becomes immorality, although politics had its Machiavelli.

[Dureva] Which is your biggest compromise?

[Lilov] My agreement to go back into politics.

[Dureva] That is now. What about the past?

[Lilov] Perhaps my greatest compromise was to become the deputy of the former holder of this position, despite my major disagreement. One way or another, however, I was his deputy. I should have held on to my "no." However, it is inherent in the individual to believe that he could do something useful and to delude himself naturally.

[Dureva] During all those years the party seriously tried to bury the intelligentsia. You say in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA "now this intelligentsia is once again with us." This is an effort on the part of the party to clean its act. All of us at the congress witnessed the way you fought tooth and nail for the intelligentsia to join the VPS.

[Lilov] I promise you that I shall continue to do so in the future! This is my essential position. I do not act in accordance with the circumstances and I shall always follow these lines because, to begin with, this is in the tradition of our party, which was created by intellectuals. Second, let me not conceal it, the party needs the spirit, the morality, the intellect, the ability of the intellectuals to influence public opinion and to act as the conscience of the people, to humanize society. I am referring to the most talented people and not to the intelligentsia in general! I agree that particularly in recent years, considering its intellectual weakness and a profoundly misshapen political line and the degeneracy of the party's leadership and its leader, the party began by waging a sharp battle, with a sharp confrontation with the intelligentsia. As the regime became degraded and distorted, it naturally opposed the culture of the intelligentsia, for it considers this dangerous, as the ferment which could break it down. The authorities "exposed," physically and mentally and morally repressed those who disagreed with them and wrecked, and corrupted the other part, which was also a very heavy blow, for it was thus that many talented people were lost, including members of my generation. I am ashamed of this, for some of them were very close friends of mine. Entire pogroms took place. You know that, you experienced it. These were truly terrible times, which makes all the more significant those individuals who were able to withstand it without loss of faith. I respect Blaga, Svetlin, Radichkov, and Prodev. I admire Valeri Petrov, with his frail body but infinitely strong morality! What spirit! He was able to withstand 20 years of constant moral repression.

[Dureva] The newspaper is not a temple and I am not a confessor. But let us not forget that you were the ideologue of that party. You are guilty of this entire [word illegible].

[Lilov] Yes, naturally. I bear responsibility for everything which happened in the field of ideology during that time. I do not wish to push my responsibility on to someone else, as is now fashionable to do. I see many fighters today who were excessively fearful at a time when they should have struggled. This heap of [word illegible] fighters bothers me a great deal. I assume my own responsibility. However, whoever you may ask in Bulgaria you will not find anyone who would be able to say that I blocked his book, his exhibition or anything else. There has been no such case.

[Dureva] But books and films were blocked. At that time, for example, one book by Professor Nikolay Genchev was blocked while another was burned.

[Lilov] Yes, certainly this took place in some cases and for some individuals. But let us trace the specific culpability. I am telling you that you will not find a case in which I personally ordered this. You will find the opposite. Ask your friends in the SDS, I would assume that they have not forgotten some cases when it was necessary for me to help them. Perhaps some day, when the files become accessible, and one could read Zhivkov's report against me, one of the charges against me was precisely that I have written good things in my books about members of the intelligentsia "who are [word illegible] of the party." It also mentions my guilt for "A Woman of [word illegible]," "The Face," or "The Barrier."... I am also guilty of things but I also have "extenuating circumstances" in the area of defending, of protecting major works. At that time this was neither all that easy nor safe.

[Dureva] What do you prefer to deal with: books or speeches?

[Lilov] I prefer books and my honest job.

[Dureva] And the speeches, what shall we do with them?

[Lilov] I have no reason to be ashamed of some of them because they include many ideas. One should not merely look for names in a report, one should look for ideas. There was a time when the SDS was broadcasting greetings on the occasion of Zhivkov's 70th birthday anniversary. If anyone expected in such a speech a profound, comprehensive, and sharp criticism of the party's leader, to say the least he was mistaken as to the genre. One should seek in my reports the type of ideas which helped or which did not help....

[Dureva] I am speaking of two reports. Do you remember them? The first dates from 1979 on real socialism. Mature, real... and what was the other? Developed!

[Lilov] Yes, such was the terminology we used.

[Dureva] Who invented it?

[Lilov] It is not Bulgarian, it is a common terminology which was used by overall Marxist theory for a long period of time. This was one of the concepts confirming the fact that at that time theoretical thinking was not on a particularly high level.

[Dureva] You say about the enemies of "real socialism" the following: "What is suggested to replace real socialism is a new, or another specifically 'national,' 'regional,' 'religious,' 'democratic' or any other socialism, which will be substantially different from the Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism.... Social democracy and reformism call for democratic socialism...."

[Lilov] The time when that conference took place was a period of very violent confrontation in the areas of ideology and politics. The Cold War was at its peak. Everything was extremely ideologized. Everything was in a state of confrontation. Not only the Western societies but also societies which called themselves "socialist," such as Islamic fundamentalism, for instance, were opposed to real socialism, which today you may put in quotes. The idea seems to be that socialism should have distinguished among such versions which proclaim themselves socialist without being socialist. The only thing which I could add to this concept is that at that time we had still not realized the fact that the social democratic movement, not only theoretically but in terms of its real struggle as well, had greatly advanced. That which it had created as a concept of democratic socialism it had embodied in the Swedish experience, the Finnish experience, the Norwegian, West German, and French experiences. It had achieved a major advance, creating a society of well-being. At that time, however, our way of thinking was unable to realize the fact that democratic socialism contains valuable things which not only must be noted but also used. In that area as well I must seriously and profoundly correct my views.

[Dureva] Do you not fear that democratic socialism may be as democratic as mature socialism was "mature," real socialism was "real," and developed socialism, "developed?"

[Lilov] Well, this depends on the level of maturity of society. If our party remains on the same level, this could be repeated. If the party is renovated in terms of its ideological and political foundations, there would be no danger. Do you think that it would be possible for France to return to the use of the guillotine? Or, Germany, to fascism? In our countries gulag is no longer possible nor is Stalinism.

[Dureva] Let me read you now something from 1974: "We must expose the bourgeois-class nature of the theories of 'social partnership' and 'settling social conflicts' in the spirit of the reformist doctrines of 'human relations,' based on the theories of ideological and political pluralism...."

[Lilov] Oh, yes, to us the concept of pluralism was heretical. It was an alien concept. To this day it has still not been mastered. I do not know when you started to speak of pluralism. I did not hear you at that time

mentioning pluralism, neither you nor others who are today speaking very loudly. I do not believe that you have the right to judge me.

[Dureva] On this point you have almost defeated me. At that time I was still learning and there was no way you could have heard me but.... Is that all you have to tell me?

[Lilov] Essentially, I can tell you that at that time our society was still unable to accept the idea of democratization in its present sense. A nondemocratic society cannot handle the concept of pluralism. It works with the concept of unity of thought and such is the explanation of what took place.

[Dureva] As you wrote, it is a society in which "the people are raised in a spirit of Communist Party mindedness." Initially it is a question of the way you tried to raise us.

[Lilov] That is true, a totalitarian society has its own demands. In the same way [former U.S. President Ronald] Reagan spoke of the evil empire. I hope that now you are not about to write that Reagan is a fool (he laughs).

[Dureva] I know the reason for your hope.... However, these reports include many of your errors, if we may qualify them as such.

[Lilov] Great things have been qualified much more severely. I do not imply that this was something great (he laughs). Entire trends in art have been rejected as being scandalous. Was Impressionism rejected? It was. Today it is the ultimate art.

[Dureva] Yes, Impressionism.... When did you believe what you were saying.... Was it in the past or is it now?

[Lilov] I have always believed what I was saying, for I have always been honest with myself. I stopped believing when I realized that what I was thinking was not true. I told you that I experienced a change, from romantic idealist to realistic skeptic. This is a path, an evolution in time, in the course of which man can see a great deal of things. Everything becomes known through comparison. It is only the fool who does not develop and I do not consider myself a fool.

[Dureva] You mentioned that your mother died when you were very young....

[Lilov] Yes, very young (quietly).... I was seven or eighty. Naturally, I remember her. My daughter is very much like her. I find something of her in my son as well. What a terrible coincidence. My daughter was born on the anniversary of my mother's death, 20 years later. On the very same date. Sometimes strange things happen in life (speaking very softly).... The most interesting thing is that my father did not remarry (speaking extremely softly).... Our family in this respect is special. We know how to love... (a sustained pause).

[Dureva] I shall no longer ask you questions on this topic.

[Lilov] Thank you (a long pause, a silence which lasts almost two minutes).

[Dureva] But let us go back... the Bulgarian people have very good yardsticks concerning leadership. They demand absolutely for the leader to be poor, not to drink, not to smoke (you are not a smoker) and to be almost ethereal. Do you meet these requirements, these concepts?

[Lilov] Absolutely not. Throughout the world leaders are living beings with all their characteristic features and faults. A much more normal, a more civilized attitude on this matter should be adopted. I believe that it is terrible when the leader enriches himself in a criminal, illegal, and demoralizing way, when he is corrupted and abuses his power. However, we must also create a fully respectful and normal attitude toward people who have spent their life at work. For example, I have been working for 40 years, for some of which I have received a very good salary.

[Dureva] What is your salary?

[Lilov] In this respect you cannot criticize me. As a member of the Politburo and as Central Committee secretary my salary was 1,300. Now, as chairman, I receive 1,200, on my own initiative. This is not a credit to me but a way to have an honest attitude toward the matter. I believe that even this is too much but I do not wish to engage in demagoguery, for this does not affect myself only. Therefore, I have not raised my salary but have reduced it and I do not consider this a bad thing. So, I see nothing bad for a person who works honestly and honorably to have, let us say, an apartment, a car, and a country home. This is normal and worthy of respect, for otherwise he should either drink up his money or hide it in the mattress if he yearns for respect. This is quite a strange situation. I am in favor of the struggle against corruption but people who work well should be respected and earn more. It is true that there must be social justice, there must be a measure but not the level of poverty, according to which we should live in huts, wear moccasins in order to be models and to be party leaders worthy of emulation... To me the supreme criterion is respect for the law. You are right that in our country everyone is pecking either into the pocket or the bedroom of the others. This is how we spend our time. Everyone is applying his own yardstick... The famous "sixth administration" should vanish! New "file geniuses have appeared."

[Dureva] When will you complete your unfinished books?

[Lilov] It is not excluded that I shall do so after the elections! (He laughs.)

[Dureva] What is your reaction to Docent [Candidate of Technical Sciences] Nasko A. Ignatov in LITERATUREN FRONT concerning your scientific dissertations and titles?

[Lilov] I am amazed. Believe me, I am not indignant but amazed. It is normal for both possible and impossible things to exist. A physicist is a professionally competent person in physics but not in history, shall we say. Docent Ignatov is a candidate of technical sciences yet he formulates categorical evaluations on dissertations and titles in the areas of philology and philosophy. He should have at least considered "technical" facts by checking with the proper offices. At that point he would have seen that I graduated in philosophy at Sofia University and in esthetics and theory of art at the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow. Esthetics is a philosophical discipline. That is why it is not strange in the least that I defended my philosophical doctoral dissertation at Moscow University. I have written and published quite a number of books and studies in my scientific area. They were published in our country and many of them were translated in the USSR, West Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries (never a cent of "subsidy"). Reviews written by great scientists deal with my dissertations. This includes Academician Likhachev, Academician Kedrov, Academician Frolov, Professor Asmus, Professor Ovsyannikov, and others. This also applies to Western periodicals. Furthermore, this was written when I was not holding any political position.

Naturally, I do not exaggerate the value of my scientific works. However, I object to dilettantism, particularly when it serves dishonorable political purposes.

As to the fact that even my appointment as professor and corresponding member of the BAN [not further expanded] is a nomenclatural act and courtesy of T. Zhivkov, this I find exaggerated even given our own political mores. Both titles were earned by me after I was removed form the Politburo and in opposition to Zhivkov's wishes. This can be proved by checking with the president of the BAN and the then chairman of the Committee for Science. I was appointed professor not at the institute which I directed but at the Philosophy Department of Sofia University.

Do you know what is the ugliest aspect of this case and, in general, in terms of our current social life: It is political cannibalism. One attacks anything, there are no moral boundaries, truth is of no value. What matters is to throw mud at one person or another. Forget about me. But can't you see that attempts are being made against the flower of the nation. With whom and how can we march forth?

Remember what I say: Never act immorally and unworthily. This is dangerous for you and not for the person at which you are aiming.

[Dureva] Will you be able to determine when you will have to leave this position? Do you already sense this?

[Lilov] Yes, I have an idea.

[Dureva] Do you know when this will take place?

[Lilov] Yes.

[Dureva] Will you tell me?

[Lilov] No. This is my secret.

[Dureva] Very well. Keep your secret.

[Lilov] And my moral imperatives.

Results of Opinion Poll on U.S., Americans

AU0806181090 Sofia BTA in English 1603 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Jun (BTA)—Most of the Bulgarians have a positive attitude towards the Americans and the United States. This conclusion can be made judging by the results of a representative sociological enquiry held by the Institute of Sociology with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences at the request of the Friends of the U.S.A. in Bulgaria Society. 1535 people were interviewed. The purpose of the enquiry was to find out what the Bulgarians' idea about the United States, the Americans and the traditional values of American democracy is.

82 per cent of the respondents have positive attitude towards the United States, 15 per cent are neutral and only three per cent have negative attitude to the U.S.A. "That country's an unattainable dream" is the synthesized answer given by every ninth in ten Bulgarians which expresses their idea of the United States and the attitude towards that country. In most cases the first thought about the United States and Americans is directed to three major spheres: A rich country, high standard of living, well developed economy and prosperity; democracy, a model of democracy; freedom of thought and rights. 42 per cent consider that the United States enjoy exceedingly high international prestige and 48 per cent that the country's international prestige is high. 35 per cent of the respondents suspect that the U.S. foreign policy seeks to impose interests of its own in Europe. Only in few cases (about one per cent of the respondents) the interviewed accused the United States of militarism, imperialism and a desire to conquer the world.

As to Bulgaria's foreign policy, 46.1 per cent of the respondents hold the opinion that she should promote her relations with the European countries; 23.6 consider that Bulgaria should advance her relations with the United States and 16.4 per cent are for the promotion of relations with Japan.

According to the Bulgarians' idea the citizens of the United States are: enterprising (91 per cent); industrious and solicitous in their work (88 per cent); freedom-loving (87 per cent); cheerful and witty (79 per cent); honest and straightforward (74 per cent); goodwilled and considerate (71 per cent). Of the negative features the most

often mentioned is profiteering (40 per cent). Most of the respondents consider that the Americans's money go mainly in their own line of business or in buying shares. Thee respondents see the Americans as a free, happy and rich men. Asked how they treat the citizens of the United States, 19.3 per cent answered they put great trust in the Americans, 49 per cent said they put certain trust in them, 13 per cent are indifferent to them.

A great percentage of the respondents (96.2 per cent) want their children to know English, 74.6 per cent want American schools to be opened in Bulgaria and 71 per cent said they would enroll their children in these schools, if opened.

Four-fifths of the respondents definitely appreciate the traditional values of American democracy. They were mentioned in the following order: Freedom of speech and the press, equal rights and opportunities, separation of powers, freedom of views and convictions, openness and access to information. According to 20 per cent openness is possible although there may not be freedom of speech and the press.

Civic Forum Wins Federal Assembly Elections

Television Projects Results

LD0906224490 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Television published in its last election service a precise elections' estimate tonight.

According to the latest figures, the majority of 48 per cent of votes to the 150-member House of the People of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly were won by the Civic Forum/Public Against Violence Coalition, i.e. 88 seats. Other seats will be most probably occupied by the Communist Party (12.7 per cent, i.e. 22 seats), the Christian Democratic Union/the Christian Democratic Movement coalition (12.3 per cent, i.e. 21 seats) and the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (5.5 per cent, i.e. 10 seats)

In the elections to the 150-member House of Nations of the Czechoslovak parliament the coalition Civic Forum/Public Against Violence won 47.1 per cent of votes, i.e. 82 seats, followed by the Communist Party with 13 per cent and 22 seats, the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Democratic Movement coalition with 11.6 per cent and 24 seats, Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia 6.2 per cent and 8 seats and the Democratic Party with 3.9 per cent and 10 seats.

In the elections to the Czech National Council the Civic Forum won 50.7 per cent of votes, i.e. 125 seats, followed by the Communist Party with 13 per cent and 32 seats, the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia with 10 per cent and 24 seats and the Christian Democratic Union with 7.9 per cent and 19 seats.

The Slovak National Council:

The Public Against Violence 30.9 per cent of votes, i.e. 50 seats, the Christianu Democratic Movement 21.4 per cent and 34 seats, the Slovak National Party 14.8 per cent and 24 seats and the Communist Party 11.3 per cent of votes, i.e. 19 seats.

Tallies in Cities, Countryside

AU0906202390

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 1750 GMT on 9 June carries a program entitled "We Voted, But How?" Predicted election results, divided into those cast in the countryside and those cast in the cities, are given.

Results of elections to the People's Chamber, based on votes cast in the countryside:

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: 13.1 percent;
Alliance of Farmers and Countryside: 5.9 percent;
Civic Forum/Public Against Violence: 39.5 percent;
Christian Democratic Union/Christian Democratic Movement: 15.1 percent;
Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia: 6.1 percent;
Other: 20.3 percent.

Results of elections to the People's Chamber, based on votes cast in the cities:

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: 13.3 percent;
Slovak National Party: 4.0 percent;
Civic Forum/Public Against Violence: 51.2 percent;
Christian Democratic Union/Christian Democratic Movement: 9.8 percent;
Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia: 4.4 percent;
Other: 17.3 percent.

Slovak Council Results

LD1006172990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Summary] Results of elections to the Slovak National Council were announced at about 5:30 PM by the Slovak Election Commission. The commission's deputy chairman was interviewed. In the elections, 95.39 percent of voters took part.

It is already known which parties gained over 3 percent of the votes and the order of the parties according to votes counted, but we do not know the names of new deputies yet.

The results of the elections to the Slovak National Council are:
Freedom Party [Strana Slobody]: 1.77 percent.
Democratic Party [Demokraticka Strana]: 4.39 percent.
Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska Strana Socialisticka]: 0.03.percent.
Public Against Violence [Verejnost Proti Nasiliu]: 29.34 percent.
Free Bloc [Slobodny Blok]: 0.09 percent.
All-People Democratic Party [Vseludova Demokraticka Strana]: 0.20 percent
Czechoslovak Communist Party [Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska]: 13.34 percent.
Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectvo Polnohospodarov a Vidieka]: 2.51 percent.
Coalition of Eggyutteles and Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [Koalicia Eggyutteles a Madarske Krestansko Demokraticke Hnutie]: 8.66 percent.
Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske Demokraticke Forum]: 0.01 percent.
Coalition of Romanies [Koalicia Romovia]: 0.73 percent.
Slovak National Party [Slovenska Narodna Strana]: 13.94 percent.
Christian Democratic Movement [Krestansko Demokraticke Hnutie]: 19.20 percent.
Green Party [Strana Zelienych]: 3.48 percent.
Movement of Czechoslovak Understanding [Hnutie Ceskoslovenskoho Porozumenia]: 0.39 percent.

Social Democracy [Socialna Demokracia]: 1.81 percent.

Czech Council Results

LD1006175990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1723 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Correspondent Lubos Lidicky report from Valdstejn Palace in Prague, date not given]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, I have just received the final results of elections to the Czech National Council, the final results of the free elections to the Czech National Council in progress to the first scrutiny [postup do prvniho skrutinia], and also for the determination of the five and two percent limit. The political parties and movements:

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party: 2.67 percent.
The Free Bloc [Svobodny Blok]: 1.04 percent.
Civic Forum: 49.49 percent.
The Association for Republic—The Republican Party [Sdruzeni Pro Republiku—Republikanska Strana]: 0.99 percent.
The Preelection Grouping of Special Interest Unions [Volne Seskupeni Zajmovych Svazu]: 0.83 percent.
Czechoslovak Communist Party 13.23 percent.
The Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectivi Zemedelcu a Venkova]: 4.11 percent.
The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske Demokraticeke Forum]: 0.32 percent.
The Green Party [Strana Zelenych]: 4.10 percent.
The Movement for Self-Administrated Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia [Hnuti za Samospravu Spolecenstvi prov Moravu aa Slezsko]: 10.03 percent.
Social Democracy [Socialni Demokracie]: 4.10 percent.
The Party of Friends of Beer [Strana Pratel Piva]: 0.60 percent.
Christian and Democratic Union [Krestanska a Demokraticka Unie]: 8.41 percent.

Thus, the election to the Czech National Council—the list of parties progressing to the first scrutiny: Civic Forum, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, and the Christian and Democratic Union.

So much for our first information from the Czech Electoral Commission. We are expecting results any minute now from the Central Electoral Commission of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

Parties' Percentages in Assembly

LD1006182690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1732 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Unattributed report from Central Electoral Commission headquarters at Valdstejn Palace in Prague; date not given]

[Text] These are the results of the elections to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly in the Czech republic:

Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska Strana Socialisticka]: 2.75 percent.
Free Block [Svobodny Blok]: 0.80 percent.
Movement for Civic Liberty [Hnuti za Obcanskou Svobodu]: 0.30 percent.
Civic Forum [Obcanske Forum]: 53.15 percent.
Republican Party [Republikanska Strana]: 0.94 percent
Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectvi Zemedelcu a Venkova]: 3.77 percent.
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska]: 13.48 percent.
Coexistence [Spoluziti]: 0.08 percent.
Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske Demokraticke Forum]: 0.32 percent.
Green Party [Strana Zelenych]: 3.10 percent.
Society for Moraviaa and Silesia [Spolecnost pro Moravu a Slezsko]: 7.89 percent.
Social Democratic Party [Socialni Demokracie]: 3.84 percent.
Christian-Democratic Union [Krestanskodemokraticka Unie]: 8.69 percent.
Friends of Beer Party [Strana Pratel Piva]: 0.12 percent.

Those are the results for the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly in the Czech republic.

[Second announcer, in Slovak] Now here are the results for the People's Chamber in the Slovak republic:

Public Against Violence [Verejnost Proti Nasiliu]: 32.54 percent.
Christian Democratic Movement [Krestansko-demokraticke Hnutie]: 18.98 percent.
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska]: 13.81 percent.
Slovak National Party [Slovenska Narodna Strana]: 10.96 percent
Coexistence [Spoluzitie]: 8.58 percent.
Slovak People's Party [Slovenska Strana Ludova]: 1.44 percent.
Democratic Party [Demokraticka Strana]: 4.40 percent.
Green Party [Strana Zelenych]: 3.20 percent.
Social Democratic Party [Socialna Demokracia]: 1.89 percent.

If we look at the results which we have just received the other parties did not gain even one percent. So we can give the following summary showing the parties which progress to the first scrutiny, that means the elections to the People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly. They are: Public Against Violence, Civic Forum, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Coexistence, the Slovak National Party, the Christian-Democratic Movement, the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Christian and Democratic Union.

[First announcer, in Czech] Now here are the results of the elections to the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly—the results from the Czech republic:

Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska Strana Socialisticka]: 2.89 percent.
Movement for Civic Liberty [Hnuti za Obcanskou Svobodu]: 0.29 percent.
Free Block [Svobodny Blok]: 1.09 percent.
Civic Forum (Obcanske Forum]: 49.96 percent.
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska]: 13.80 percent.
Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectvi Zemedelcu a Venkova]: 3.99 percent.
Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske Demokraticke Forum]: 0.44 percent.
Green Party [Strana Zelenych]: 3.44 percent.
Society for Moravia and Silesia [Spolecnost pro Moravu a Slezsko]: 9.10 percent.
Social Democratic Party [Socialni Demokracie]: 4.17 percent
Christian Democratic Union [Krestanska a Demokraticka Unie]: 8.75 percent.

The percentages have been rounded up to two decimal places.

[Second announcer, in Slovak] Now for the results of the Chamber of Nations as they ended up in the Slovak republic:

Slovak People's Party [Slovenska Strana Ludova]: 1.24 percent.
Democratic Party [Demokraticka Strana]: 3.68 percent.
Public Against Violence [Verejnost Proti Nasiliu]: 37.28 percent.
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [Komunisticka Strana Ceskoslovenska]: 13.43 percent.
Coexistence [Spoluzitie]: 8.49 percent.
Slovak National Party [Slovenska Narodna Strana]: 11.44 percent.
Christian-Democratic Movement [Krestansko-demokraticke Hnutie]: 16.66 percent.
Green Party [Strana Zelenych]: 2.58 percent.
Social Democratic Party [Socialna Demokracia]: 1.51 percent.
Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectvo Polnohospodarov a Vidieka]: 2.10 percent.

The other parties gained less than one percent.

[First announcer, in Czech] So how did the elections to the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly turn out? The final line-up of parties progressing to the first scrutiny looks like this: Public Against Violence, Civic Forum, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Coexistence, the Slovak National Party, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Movement for Self-Administered Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Christian and Democratic Union.

Dear listeners, those are the first official results of the 1990 free elections to the Federal Assembly.

More on Parties' Percentages

LD1006211690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1930 GMT on 10 June broadcasts a 20-minute report on the Federal Assembly election results as announced this evening by Ceniral Election Commission Chairman Zdenek Zahorsky. This report adds the following results not previously announced by Prague Domestic Service:

Voting in the Czech Republic to the People's Chamber

The People's Democratic Party-Rally for the Republic [Vselidova demokraticka strana-Sdruzeni pro republiku]: 0.94 percent
Election Grouping of Special-Interest Associations [Volebni seskupeni zajmovych svazu]: 0.66 percent
The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [Knuti ceskoslovenskeho porozumeni]: 0.11 percent

Voting in the Slovak Republic to the People's Chamber

The Alliance of Farmers and the Countryside [Spojenectvi .emedelcu a venkova]: 2.58 percent
The Freedom Party [in Slovak: Strana slobody]: 1.44 percent
The Romanies [Romove]: 0.67 percent
The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [Knuti Ceskoslovenskeho porozumeni]: 0.41 percent
The People's Democratic Party-Rally for the Republic [Vselidova demokraticka strana-Sdruzeni pro republiku]: 0.25 percent
The Free Block [Svobodny blok]: 0.18 percent
The Czechoslovak Socialist Party [ceskoslovenska strana fsocialisticka]: 0.06 percent
The Movement for Civic Liberty [Hnuti za obcanskou svobodu]: 0.02 percent
The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske demokraticke forum]: 0.20 percent

Voting in the Czech Republic to the Chamber of the Nations

The People's Democratic Party-Rally for the Republic [Vselidova demokraticka strana-Sdruzeni pro republiku]: 1.00 percent
Election Grouping of Special-Interest Associations [Volebni seskupeni zajmovych svazu]: 0.76 percent
Friends of Beer Party [Strana pratel piva]: 0.19 percent
The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [Hnuti ceskoslovenskeho porozumeni]: 0.12 percent

Voting in the Sloval Republic to the Chamber of the Nations

The Freedom Party [in Slovak: Strana slobody]: 1.24 percent
The Romanies [Romove]: 0.60 percent
The Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [Knuti ceskoslovenskeho porozumeni]: 0.50 percent
The People's Democratic Party-Rally for the Republic [Vselidova demokraticka strana-Sdruzeni pro republiku]: 0.21 percent
The Free Block [Svobodny blok]: 0.17 percent
The Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana socialisticka]: 0.06 percent

The Movement for Civic Liberty [Hnuti za obcanskou svobodu]: 0.03 percent
The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [Ceskoslovenske demokraticke forum]: 0.01 percent

Assembly, Czech Council Seats

LD1006193490 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—The following are numbers of seats won by particular parties in the two houses of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) and the Czech National Council:

Federal Assembly:

House of the People - Czech Republic	(101 seats)
Civic Forum	66
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	14
Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia	9
Christian and Democratic Union	7

The remaining five seats will be distributed after the second count. The results will be known on June 13. The date applies to all bodies we list here below.

House of the People - Slovak Republic	(49 seats)
Public Against Violence	18 seats
Christian Democratic Movement	9
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	6
Coexistence (Souziti) - Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	4
Slovak National Party	4

The remaining eight seats will be distributed after the second count.

House of Nations - Czech Republic	(75 seats)
Civic Forum	48
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	10
Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia	7
Christian and Democratic Union	4

The remaining six seats will be distributed after the second count.

House of Nations - Slovak Republic	(75 sets)
Public Against Violence	32
Christian Democratic Movement	13
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	10
Slovak National Party	7
Coexistence (Souziti) - Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	6

The remaining seven seats will be distributed after the second count.

Czech National Council	(200 seats)
Civic Forum	126
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	30
Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia	22
Christian and Democratic Union	18

The remaining four seats will be distributed after the second count.

Over 90 Percent Vote in Slovakia

LD0906203690 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bratislava June 9 (CTK)—More than 90 percent of Slovak citizens took part in the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, according to the Slovak Ministry of the Interior and the Slovak Election Commission.

The elections were attended by at least 120 foreign observers from various institutions. Representatives of the Council of Europe visited the elections' press centre in Slovakia. They expressed extraordinary satisfaction at the course of the elections.

The elections in Slovakia took place in a correct and calm atmosphere.

96 Percent Voter Turnout Reported

LD0906224690 Prague CTK in English 2158 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—According to the latest figures published by Czechoslovak Television today, a total of 96 percent of voters took part in the June 8-9 parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

This was the biggest number of voters registered in the states of Eastern and Central Europe.

PAV Considers Coalition Partners

LD1006185490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Interview with Fedor Gal, member of Public Against Violence, by reporter Ivan Kosec; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kosec] Since Public Against Violence [PAV] did not get more than 50 percent of the votes in the Slovak National Council elections it has to enter a preliminary coalition. Which parties have you selected for this coalition?

[Gal] Political discussions on the postelection coalition have only just begun. I think it would be premature to talk about how they will end. One thing is sure—we are aware that in the next two years the Slovak government is faced with serious problems. It is impossible to begin solving these problems without creating a government of competent people. A government cannot be formed by one political group. For this reason we are beginning talks with all political groups which: a) have a platform close to ours, and b) represent a political force which must be reckoned with. At this time these groups are the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Green Party. I repeat, the talks are to initiate contacts. It is difficult to anticipate the results.

[Kosec] I expect PAV has the most recognized experts and politicians in its midst. Which of these would you give preference to and in which posts?

[Gal] The elections closed yesterday and now work on forming cabinets and ideas about the power structure, about our parliaments, are at their height. At this moment I can tell you one thing: We are aware of the responsibility which comes from the election results and we intend to put our people at the head of economic reforms. We have good-quality economists who are equal to this task. We are also aware that there are sectors and posts which will have a very significant influence on the shape of this society, not only in the next two years but possibly in the next decade. As the winning political group we want to be there to see how they are run, to see how they implement PAV policy. At this moment I cannot give you concrete names and preferences. You will find this out during the course of the next few days.

[Kosec] So it seems it is pointless to ask you how many posts and which ones you will offer your coalition partners?

[Gal] This is a matter for political discussions which are just beginning. We have an idea of positions which are of fundamental significance for us. We have alternative views about who is up to the work of heading them. We want to publicize this to our movement, in front of the PAV Council. And tomorrow contact talks with the political parties and movements I spoke about will continue.

Democrats Considered for Coalition

LD1006195290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Perhaps it is unexpected, but the third party being considered for a government coalition is, as we have heard, the Democratic Party, [Demokraticka Strana]. Its representative (Petur Matos) was interviewed by Igor Matlon:

[Begin (Matos) recording] Since its revival the Democratic Party has concentrated a great deal of its strength on finding solutions to the problems in ecology, the economy, the social sphere, and other areas, which have accumulated. In the end we expressed our positions in our specific programs about which the public was informed. We therefore prepared ourselves in a responsible manner to take a constructive part whether in government or in opposition.

We estimate that about 160,000 voters supported the Democratic Party. I think they thus entrusted us with implementing our ideas and we are prepared for this if an agreement is reached about our participation in the government. [end recording]

Christian Democrats on Coalition

LD1006194590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, member of the Christian Democratic Movement, by reporter Alica Dielikova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Bielikova] Mr. Carnogursky, was your decision in favor of a coalition with the Public Against Violence [PAV] and the Democrats unequivocal?

[Carnogursky] The answer is yes, because the creation of a Slovak movement without the Christian Democratic Movement [CDM] is impossible. On the other hand, when we were considering possible coalition partners, we had already excluded the Communist Party as a coalition partner. PAV and the Democratic Party emerged as our most natural and closest coalition partners.

[Bielikova] When you went to vote I remember you said that it would be enough if the CDM were in opposition. Did you say this out of modesty?

[Carnogursky] Not out of modesty but out of readiness to respect the election results, whatever they might have been.

[Bielikova] But I think that you expected that if the CDM was not in first place, that it would definitely be in second place.

[Carnogursky] Naturally, it was realistic to expect it and it happened at least partially.

[Bielikova] It is being said already that you are the most serious candidate for the post of federal government premier.

[Carnogursky] I have not yet heard this since the elections. But this will not happen because so far we have not decided to enter the federal government.

[Bielikova] Is this your personal decision, your personal view of the future or is this the result of the CDM's plans and goals?

[Carnogursky] It is not my personal decision. For the moment it is the decision of the CDM Presidium of the Council. The point is, with regard to the election results at that federal level, that we would not be able to

implement almost anything at all in our program—likewise with the election results achieved by the Christian and Democratic Union in the Czech Republic. If we were to play fourth or fifth violins in the federal government we would rather not enter it at all.

Civic Forum on Possible Partners

LD0906183890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Jan Urban, representative of Civic Forum, said at a news conference in Prague that the closest coalition partner of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence in setting up the new federal government will be the Christian democratic parties. He ruled out the possibility that Civic Forum and Public Against Violence will enter into a coalition with the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He said that Marian Calfa, the present premier of the government, would be a candidate for premier. At the same time he said, however, that according to the Constitution, the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic has a large role in this decision.

Civic Forum News Conference on Coalition

LD1006222590 Prague CTK in English 2148 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, June 10 (CTK)—The main task on the days ahead is seeking a post-elections coalition, representative of the winning party in the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia, the Civic Forum, Petr Kucera said at a press conference here tonight and added that certain steps in this sense have already been taken.

But he pointed out that important and concrete talks on forming a coalition have thus far been conducted only with the partner movement in Slovakia, the Public Against Violence (VPN), but not with national parties, especially the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, but this should be soon remedied.

Petr Kucera reaffirmed that a coalition with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Slovak National Party is not considered.

Petr Kucera said that the Civic Forum will carry on the talks with the Czechoslovak People's Party which it was conducting throughout the pre-election campaign. The Civic Forum wishes that the crisis inside the party be over as soon as possible so that it may become a creditable post-elections partner.

Another Civic Forum representative, Petr Uhl, was asked to what he ascribes the good results scored by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He said that there are many people in Czechoslovakia fearing anticommunism. Some disputes between Civic Forum followers, e.g. between P. Cibulka and J. Sabata in Brno and the campaign to ban the Communist Party cemented the party's present and recent members. Petr Uhl said adding that there are two million people in Czechoslovakia who are or were members of the Communist Party. Fortunately, the anticommunism was not so strong as to inspire all these people to vote for the party. Irrespective of the situation in the Communist Party, we will respect the fact that 13 percent of voters polled for it in the free elections, Petr Uhl added.

Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky stressed the fact that 96 percent of voters took part in the elections, adding that he knows no democratic country in which such a big percentage of voters would go to the polls. He also pointed out as interesting the fact that one political movement among two dozens of political parties won more than 50 percent (the Civic Forum).

Spokesman on Government Formation

LD1106135190 Prague CTK in English 1225 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 11 Jun (CTK)—The view that present Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa will most probably be entrusted with forming a new Czechoslovak government was voiced by the Czechoslovak president's press secretary Michael Zantovsky at a briefing here today.

Zantovsky indicated that the course of the formation of the new government will influence President Vaclav Havel in making a decision on whether he will seek re-election (due in July).

The press secretary said that represented on the new government will probably be the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence political movements, the Christian and Democratic Union, and the Christian Democratic Movement.

Asked why present Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek does not want to join the new government, Michael Zantovsky said that Valtr Komarek has not yet been offered the post since no one has as yet been entrusted with forming the government. Nevertheless he added that in the past weeks Valtr Komarek had indicated he will not seek a government seat.

In connection with Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher, a member of the Czechoslovak People's Party whose chairman has been accused of having been a secret police agent, Michael Zantovsky recalled the words of Civic Forum coordinating centre member Jan Urban that the Civic Forum has reservations about Minister Sacher, but is aware of his very good position within his own party. Therefore, the filling of the interior minister's post will further be discussed.

Referring to the June 8-9 parliamentary elections, Zantovsky noted that they proved the voters' mistrust of political parties' particular programs. On the contrary, they preferred movements and regional parties running people representing a broad political spectrum.

Commenting on the election success of the nationalist-oriented Slovak National Party, the press secretary said that it will now depend on what sense of political responsibility the party will display. He added that mounting nationalistic trends would not benefit democracy.

Referring to the election success of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, which places emphasis on Moravia's and Silesia's autonomy within the Czech Republic, Michael Zantovsky said that the movement could be a positive partner of the Civic Forum in the projected new territorial set-up in Czechoslovakia.

Michael Zantovsky voiced his conviction that a dignified role will be entrusted in the new government to the leading representative of the Slovak Autonomist Christian Democratic Movement and current deputy chairman, Jan Carnogursky, adding that it is in the interest of the Czechs and Slovaks that he play an important role in political life.

Commenting on the election success of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the president's press secretary told journalists that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a group of people who are not bound by an ideology, but by common interests, the fear of losing their positions, and maybe uncertainty about the future. In the pre-election struggle the party proved to be the most stabilized group which was neither winning nor losing. It was simply in the "pupal state", M. Zantovsky said.

On the "Budaj" affair, Michael Zantovsky said he was moved by yesterday's statement by the Slovak National Council deputy chairman and leading representative of the Public Against Violence movement in which he avowed cooperation with the former secret police in order to obtain a travel passport.

According to Zantovsky, Budaj's offence was symbolical compared with the activity of Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik who allegedly knowingly cooperated with the secret police for seventeen years. In connection with Josef Bartoncik Michael Zantovsky said that Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher is mistaken when he regards the "Bartoncik" affair as part of the struggle for the Ministry of the Interior.

A smile and the statement that the Soviet news agency TASS has displayed a sense of humour after many years were Michael Zantovsky's response to the TASS news that Chairman of the Defence and Security Committee of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak parliament Ladislav Lis maintained contacts with a staffer of the U.S. Embassy in Prague, a CIA agent, and that also the Civic Forum list of candidates for the June 8-9 elections would have thinned if the candidates were screened from the point of view of possible cooperation with members of foreign intelligence services.

On advancement of the economic reform in Czechoslovakia, Michael Zantovsky said that the first stage of privatization is expected in the autumn. Within it state enterprises will be transformed into joint-stock companies and shares will be sold to domestic and foreign entrepreneurs and to employees.

The president's press secretary also said that further price increases are expected. He voiced the view that foreign countries will take great interest in investments in Czechoslovakia, being a stabilized and democratic country.

Havel on 2d Term, Election Results

LD1006223190 Prague CTK in English 2141 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told CTK today that he cannot say whether he would be a president for a next term since he has not yet decided whether he will accept candidature at all (he was proposed by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence political movements in May).

He added that he must first undergo one more test (contribute to the formation of a new Czechoslovak Government) and only then he will see by himself whether he is capable or not of holding the post for another turn of duty.

In reply to a question concerning participation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the new parliament, he said he welcomes this because it will be better if it can be watched by the public on the parliamentary scene than if it were driven outside parliament. This will probably also prompt it to seek its own transformation into a modern leftist party.

Vaclav Havel confirmed the "hundred-per cent sure" rumour that he voted for the first time in his life, but he declined to say for which party he cast his vote.

The president said that the regular character of the elections is due also to those political forces which sought the favour of voters. In this connection, he said the correct nature of the elections is the more so notable that they took place in an exceptional situation—after a revolution, and that most Czechoslovak people did not have any experience with free elections.

Havel Criticizes 'Fascist Methods'

LD1006195490 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today criticized "the totalitarian, fascist methods" of certain groups of Slovakia's population which are expression of "a sort of nostalgia for the Slovak state (1939-1945), i.e. for a fascist regime".

He responded to the demonstrative appearance of "groups that are not negligeable" at Monday meetings in three west Slovak towns where the president delivered speeches.

In his view, as he said in his regular Sunday radio appearance, "a person who would want to defend fascism should be outlawed".

Vaclav Havel said that even though these people claimed they are followers of the Slovak National Party, he does not identify them with the party (which will be represented on the new federal parliament following the June 8-9 elections).

The president added that "he does not mind at all that (the demonstrators) call for independence for Slovakia if they think that they will be better in an independent state, and they have the right to say it publicly". But the interruptions of his speeches reminded him of totalitarian, fascist methods, he added.

Havel Interviewed on Elections, Tasks

LD1006144690

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1215 GMT on 10 June carries a 28-minute program entitled "Conversations in Lany", which presents a recording of an interview granted by President Havel in Prague on 9 June to editor Nutz.

Nutz asks Havel how he feels about the elections. Havel stressed that one thing is totally clear: "these elections were truly free." He goes on to describe the atmosphere around Prague and what can be perceived as the victory of democracy and freedom. Nutz points out that there is one thing which mars this feeling—the Dr. Bartoncik affair. Havel comments only by saying that this is something he is very sad about.

Asked about his immediate tasks following the elections, Havel admits that the next week will be rather exhausting as he is reponsible for appointing a new government. Another important task facing him now is to prepare his speech for the first session of the new parliament, in which he should outline his ideas for the next two years of the parliament's activities and also explain the composition of the government. His speech will be followed by the new premier's program statement of an extraordinary importance, as it should include a timetable of the government's tasks.

Nutz returns to last week's trip by Havel to Moscow to attend the Warsaw Pact meeting, and Havel recalls Czechoslovakia's diplomatic initiatives so far, and explains that because of our geographical position we have to be very active in the field of international policy. He says that the existence of the two military organizations, the Warsaw Pact and NATO, were the consequence of the cold war, when Europe was divided into two blocs. The Warsaw Pact meant in fact a strict military subordination of the countries in Central and East Europe to the Stalinist Soviet Union. Now the USSR accepts that as a consequence of recent changes there is an urgent need to transform the structure and character of the Warsaw Pact. Czechoslovakia does not support an ideal of unilaterally leaving the Warsaw Pact as we are aware that this is not a realistic option. Czechoslovakia can become a neutral country only in the framework of a neutral Europe, and therefore we have to contribute toward making Europe neutral in its entirety by radically changing the European security structure. Also the West is interested in having the Warsaw Pact as a partner in disarmament talks for the time being. That is why we drew a draft statement which was in fact used as the basis for final declaration of the session. Havel says that the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact was the most important in that organization's history, as it decided on its radical transformation and its time schedule. This will give chance to the Warsaw Pact member states to participate in the December Paris summit of the countries involved in the Helskini process in the radically new situation. Havel once more stresses the importance of the Moscow final declaration.

Asked about heckling he met at the rallies in Komarno, Nitra and above all in Bratislava, Havel says he was not offended though he was annoyed by not being able to finish a single sentence. Heckling is in fact a part of democracy. Havel says that he does not identify those groups continually shouting the same slogans with the Slovak National Party.

Regarding the demand for Slovakia's independence, he says that he does not think it is reasonable, but it is the Slovak's right to air this demand publicly. Havel says that during the heckling he resents a kind of nostalgia for the Slovak Fascist State, an echo of fascist, antisemitic aspects from the history of the Slovak Free State. This must not return and anybody striving for it should be outlawed, he says.

Havel mentions that his wife is leaving for the United States as the chairwoman of the Council of Goodwill to seek financial support to help all handicapped people in Czechoslovakia.

Havel says he will attend 16 June's concert against racism, organized by a French organization in Prague. In this context, he notes that much has been done for individual human rights in the last few decades, but at the same time not enough attention has been paid to collective rights, that is, minorities' rights. Collective rights are necessary, he says, but opposes the principle of collective guilt. He goes on to describe Central and East Europe as a melting pot of various ethnic and national minorities, and expresses the view that some people in the West worry too much about possible violent conflicts in this context. Nevertheless, there are many problems in this field to be tackled, he notes. Havel points out there is much to be done regarding numerous prejudices in Czechoslovakia—for instance, against Romananian and Vietnamese people. They totally contradict the humanitarian substance of democracy for which we are striving, he says in conclusion.

CPCZ on Election Forecast

LD1006172990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1549 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] In Prague today the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Executive Committee evaluated the election results forecast for the legislative bodies. In a statement adopted it states that the election program binds CPCZ deputies to support everything that is beneficial for society and will help to correct past mistakes. The CPCZ emphasizes that it wishes to become the party of labor and democratic socialism which will first of all think of the person, of the good use of his abilities, of all his rights and interests, of social certainties, and of justice for all.

The CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee also decided to provide the sum of 5 million korunas as a grant to the Jedlicka Institute [institute for blind children].

Bilak, Dubcek Interviewed

LD0806190390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1520 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Interviews with Vasil Bilak, former secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Centntral Committee, and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by Zuzana Stukovska; outside polling booths on 8 June—recorded]

[Text] [Stukovska] Mr. Bilak, allow me to ask you a few questions. You know that I am surprised that you have come to the polls...

[Bilak] Why did it surprise you? Was it because I had been detained?

[Stukovska] Not really. It surprised me because I thought that you would not vote at all.

[Bilak] I did not think about this for a minute. I was quite firm about going from the very beginning.

[Stukovska] Can I ask you how you imagine further development in our homeland following these free elections?

[Bilak] Thank you for the questions. Someone has already asked me this question before. I would like to say that one would have to be very bold to be able to say what will or will not be. People will decide this. They will decide what kind of people will be in power, how work will be done, and how decisions will be made. Probably, more peace and more deliberation will be asked for everyone.

[Stukovska] What is your wish, how would you personally imagine further development?

[Bilak] I have a very modest wish—to survive my old age in some sort of peace.

[Stukovska] I will also ask what you think about your detention, the public has been informed that you were released last night.

[Bilak] I do not know, I do not understand myself why I was detained, I really do not know. Why, I did not commit any crime; well, I understood it as a part of the pre-election campaign.

[Stukovska] Thank you for the interview. See you soon.

Good morning, this is Slovak radio, Stukovska. Mr. Dubcek, allow me to talk to you for a minute. When did you last vote like this and how many years's break do you have behind you?

[Dubcek] I have a twenty year break behind me. There were elections four times, if I am not mistaken. But I did not take part in them, neither I nor my wife.

[Stukovska] You belong to the most popular current politicians—no doubt you do! What is the recipe for maintaining such popularity?

[Dubcek] I think that one has to work to be able to return to the people from whom one originated, not to separate oneself, as we say, from mother earth and from the people.

[Stukovska] Thank you.

Slovak Premier on Election

LD0806201390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Slovak Prime Minister Milan Cic and his wife cast their votes in polling station No. 27 in Bratislava today. Our reporter Ivan Kosec asked them for an interview:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Kosec] In the course of the coming two years we all will be facing the very difficult task of transforming the totalitarian system into a democratic one. I believe that this will be one our biggest political tests. What do you think, prime minister? What will be the most important task of the coming period as related to this year's elections?

[Cic] Naturally, in the course of only a few months it was impossible to carry out this transformation perfectly and in all its ramifications. I believe that precisely now when our free elections are coming to an end, when individual legislatures and governments will be set up, work will begin in different conditions. I do not think that it will be easier. On the contrary, it will be complicated precisely because a large number of political parties and personalities will enter the political and public life and I do not doubt that each representation of this or that political party will be striving to realize the program which they have been proclaiming in the preelection period at public meetings, simply everywhere up to now. Therefore, individual priorities in all areas will have to be clearly formulated. [end recording]

Slovak Spokesmen on Poll Results

LD0906193190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1630 GMT on 9 June carries interviews by journalists Ivan Kosec and Igor Matlon with representatives of the political parties and movements which will probably emerge as the strongest ones in Slovakia for their views on the outcome of the elections based on a preliminary forecast.

Martin Butor, member of the Coordinating Center of the Public against Violence, says that the results as reported reflect roughly the present composition of the political forces in Slovakia. He regards it as remarkable that the results achieved by the Communist Party did not differ in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia as was envisaged in some estimates. As regards the position achieved by Public against Violence, this tallies roughly with the canvasses carried out during the campaign. Apart from the main political forces, regionally and nationally oriented movements and parties, such as the Movement for Moravia and Silesia and the Slovak National Party, are assuming importance.

Asked about a possible coalition government, Martin Butor says: "We would not like to enter into a coalition partnership either with the Slovak National Party or with the Communist Party. We do not consider cooperation with Coexistence [Eggyuetteles] either. On the other hand, I believe that all the other parties that are part of the basic trend seeking a democratic renewal of our society and all the changes which need to be carried out, can offer useful cooperation of various kinds."

Asked how he explains the fact that according to the polls carried out during the past few months, the Christian Democratic Movement was occupying first place, but according to the first forecast of the election results Public against Violence has a clear lead, Jan Kovacovsky, member of the Political Committee of the Christian Democratic Movement, says that he believes personally that these results "were influenced by the latest actions carried out in the election campaign by Public against Violence and by certain representatives of this country who are members of the movement".

Asked about a possible coalition, he says that "in no case will we enter into a coalition with the Communist Party." He adds that it is, however, too early to talk about such things.

Marian Andel, general secretary of the Slovak National party, asked why the party has acquired such a popularity despite being in existence for only a short period, says that the explanation is that the party's program is purely a national one and therefore logically it attracts the attention of many SLovaks and is sympathetic to them. The party will enter coalition "with those political parties who have the same or a similar national program." According to the preliminary results, it is "unequivocally the Christian Democratic Movement, whose program contains a great many national elements", which could be a suitable partner in a coalition.

Asked whether the party would continue to demand independent and sovereign Slovakia even more vigorously than to date, and how, specifically, the party wants to defend and promote Slovak national interests, he says that the party "wants to promote these by carrying out an honest and decent policy, especially in parliament, in cooperation with other political parties who are interested in promoting the development of Slovakia and Slovaks and by implementing our election program."

Pavol Kanis, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Slovak Communist Party, say that "in essence the preliminary results are as we, perhaps, anticipated. Any percentage point above 10 we regard as a success because we were in a different position from the other political parties. We are in a situation following a historic defeat and those who might possibly have given us their votes were under great psychological pressure, so that the results are as we expected."

As for the party's future role in view of the fact that no political party wants to enter into coalition with the communists, Pavol Kanis says: "I believe that it is not possible to see political life only in terms whereby some govern while others are in opposition, because one needs to proceed from the fact that for the parliament to push through constitutional laws it needs a three-fifths majority. I believe that even according to the preliminary results some of those who will govern us will need us or will count on us precisely to achieve a three-fifths majority. What kind of cooperation this will be and with whom is, in my view, dictated by what the issue will be. In a certain way the situation has emerged as we have desired. In essence it has been shown that from among the parties which came into consideration for the formation of the left we have proven ourselves to be the strongest party, and the left will apparently be formed in a certain way around us. As far as cooperation with others is concerned, I would like to say that our party has banked on decency in politics and wants to be part of a constructive opposition, if I may put it this way. Therefore we shall resolutely support whatever is good."

Party Figures Questioned on Poll

LD0906194490 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—Following are two questions concerning today's first election prognosis and the televised press conference on the case "Bartoncik" given by CTK to representatives of some political parties:

1. How would you comment on the prognosis of the Czechoslovak parliamentary elections?

2. What is your opinion on the case "Bartoncik"?

"I know the Infas firm. Its results are often very close to reality. I agree with an Infas representative that some

voters might have concealed their election of the Communist Party and that is why the Communist Party's results may differ from the prognosis", Czechoslovak Communist Party spokesman Josef Hora said, adding the results met the party's expectations.

Answering the second question he said he does not intend to express himself on the affair of another political party and said he hopes that similar events will not repeat before the 1992 elections.

Jiri Horak, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and Jiri Paroubek, the party's central secretary, congratulated the Civic Forum and added that the voters cast their votes in belief of taking part in a national referendum and choosing between those who stood at birth of the velvet revolution and those who pursued cultural and moral dark for forty years. "We do not consider our absence in the parliament a defeat", they said.

Referring to the affair around Czechoslovak People's Party chairman Josef Bartoncik who has been accused of collaboration with the former secret police, they said that the offended side should have been offered an opportunity to defend itself. "We are also of the opinion that the election law has been rudely violated".

Stanislav Kliment, central secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party said the results confirmed the parliamentary prognoses, except for the question of Moravia.

Answering the second question he said this problem is exclusively an internal affair of the Czechoslovak People's Party.

Chairman of the movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia Boleslav Barta expressed his party's belief that the actual result will be even more favourable for his party.

"If it is true that Mr. Bartoncik was informed about the evidence concerning his cooperation with the secret police at such a high level, he should have resigned voluntarily", he said.

CPCZ, Other Parties on Results

LD1006234990 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 10 (CTK)—The results of the parliamentary elections have shown that in spite of pressure and threats, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been maintained, its legality has been defended and its disintegration has been prevented, the party's chairman Ladislav Adamec said at a press conference here today.

The party will act in the parliament as a leftist opposition, but not against a democratic system, but on its soil, and in harmony with democratic rules, and will employ constitutional means. According to Ladislav Adamec the time is over in Czechoslovakia when some people thought that what is sufficient is to scold the communists.

Chairman of the Slovak National Party Vitazoslav Moric said that the ultimate goal of the Slovak National Party is "the establishment of an independent Slovak Republic within the confederation of European states." At the same time he said that "we turn to the fraternal Czech nation assuring them that the Slovak National Party does not aim at breaking and forcible disintegrating Slovak-Czech relations. We only want that the Czech nation recognize the legal Slovak interest in the uncertain state being turned into a genuine republic".

Chairman of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia Boleslav Barta described the election achievement of his movement as favourable since "it has created for us a spring-board and a good background". The movement seeks autonomy for Moravia and Silesia within the Czech Republic.

This year's parliamentary elections were really free, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said in his "talks from Lany" broadcast by Czechoslolvak Radio today. He said the atmosphere was excellent and joyful, and pointed out that people viewed the elections as a victory of freedom and democracy.

Chairman of the coordinating centre of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Civic Movement in Slovakia Fedor Gal said that he expected the victory of the movement (in the Federal Assembly together with its Czech partner Civic Forum and in the Slovak National Council).

Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party Vaclav Benda, whose party ran within the coalition "Christian and Democratic Union" said in connection with the "Bartoncik" affair that "the attacks against some representatives were not fair and not in harmony with the election law". Nevertheless, he said that Josef Bartoncik should leave political life.

Civic Forum spokesman Jan Urban said that Christian Democratic forces are a prospective partner for the formation of a new government.

Chairman of Czechoslovak Social Democracy Jiri Horak today said that though his party did not succeed in attaining its goal—representation in the parliament, he does not consider it a defeat.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Jiri Vyvadil, whose party also suffered a disastrous defeat, today noted that the party could, together with other parties which did not win the necessary five per cent of votes to enter the parliament, form a sort of a democratic parliamentary alternative and publicly submit their proposals to the parliament and government.

The Christian Democratic Movement does not comprehend the question of Slovakia's sovereignty as a purely

national one, the movement's executive secretary Ivan Carnogursky told CTK today.

He said that similarly important are economic changes, changes in the state set-up, and in specification of the powers of the Slovak and Czech National Councils (supreme legislative bodies) within the Czechoslovak federation.

Vice-President of the biggest Czechoslovak trade union organization, the Confederation of Trade Unions, Richard Falbr said that before the elections four parties—Czechoslovak Social Democracy, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak Democratic Forum—voiced the wish to cooperate with the trade union movement, of them only the communists won seats on the parliament which "is not specially favourable for the new independent trade unions", Falbr said.

Chairman of the Czechoslovak Understanding Movement Vladimir Cech said that the elections proceded in a free and democratic manner, but the votes of small parties will be missing in the parliament.

National Election Proceedings Reported

Elections Begin

LD0806164990 Prague CTK in English
1514 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 8 Jun (CTK)—Free elections to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council started in Czechoslovakia today.

A total of 11,200,000 voters will elect 300 deputies to the Federal Assembly, 200 to the Czech National Council and 150 to the Slovak National Council from the 22 political parties running for the elections.

The elections which started at some electoral districts already at 1000 GMT will end at 1200 GMT tomorrow. First official results will probably be published Sunday [10 June] afternoon, the definitive on Wednesday, June 13.

President Havel Casts Vote

LD0806175190 Prague CTK in English
1615 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, June 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and his wife Olga cast their votes here today.

The Czechoslovak president was welcomed in front of the electoral district in Resslova Street by Prague citizens, Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. Exactly according to the election law the president went to the polling booth, put the ballots to an envelope and cast them into the polling booth.

Elections Proceed Smoothly

LD0806211590 Prague CTK in English
2017 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 8 (CTK)—The coordinating staff of the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry ensuring security in today's and tomorrow's parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia has reported that no serious complications were registered.

Only one polling station in Prague announced a 90-minute interruption of voting after a 77-year-old citizen suffered a fatal infarcation of the myocardium right during the polling act.

Several threatening phone calls that explosives were planted turned to be hoaxes.

Bratislava—The Slovak Electoral Commission also noted a calm course of the elections and announced that more than a half of the registered voters cast their votes by 1600 GMT.

Electoral Office Reports 'Calm'

LD0906182590 Prague CTK in English
1528 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—The June 8-9 parliamentary elections proceded in calm and no incidents were reported to the Central Electoral Commission, its chairman Zdenek Zahorsky said at a briefing here today.

He said that two or three telephone threats of bomb attacks turned out to be hoaxes.

Zdenek Zahorsky also explained the stand of the Central Electoral Commission on the statement by Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml that chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party and the party's candidate in the parliamentary elections Josef Bartoncik is an unprincipled person trying to conceal his past. The commission described it as violation of the election law.

According to Zdenek Zahorsky the statement was made when the pre-election campaign was ended and therefore could harm one political party. The question whether the election law was broken should be dealt with by relevant state bodies.

Elections Draw to Close

LD0906103290 Prague CTK in English
0932 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague June 9 (CTK)—An estimated 50-60 per cent of voters cast their votes in the first free parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia since 1946 on the first day of the polling yesterday. In the capital, Prague, alone about 80 per cent of voters went to the polls.

The 20,000 polling stations all over the country opened at 05.00 GMT this morning and will close at 12.00 GMT.

The first election prognoses, worked out by the West German Infas firm in cooperation with the Czechoslovak Public Opinion Institute, will be made public by the Czechoslovak television this afternoon. The results will be announced tomorrow in the afternoon or in the evening.

For the first time in forty-four years the elections were preceded by a free and democratic campaign which started at the end of April and ended in the middle of this week. Running in the elections are 22 political parties, movements and coalitions which contest seats in three legislative bodies—the Federal Assembly at the fedeal level, and the Czech and Slovak National Councils at the level of the two republics of the federation.

The parliamentary elections are taking place one year before expiry of the term of the three legislative bodies, prompted by the political changes in the country after November 1989. On November 29, the outgoing parliament abolished the constitution-embedded leading role of the Communist Party and the mission of the National Front which associated political parties and mass organizations under the command of the Communist Party.

The previous elections were held in Czechoslovakia in 1986 after the pattern set by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after the February 1948 coup d'etat when it introduced the so-called uniform list of the National Front, i.e. there was only one candidate, carefully selected by communist-dominated commissions, for each seat.

This year's elections are consistently secret. Newly, the right to vote has been given to all persons who can document their Czechoslovak state citizenship, irrespective of their domicile, if they come to their homeland during the elections. On the other hand, unlike in previous elections, no one can vote outside the territory of Czechoslovakia (i.e. at diplomatic missions, aboard ships, etc.).

The correct and democratic character of the elections and freedom of voters are monitored by some 200 foreign observers from the Council of Europe, the Interparliamentary Union, the European Parliament, the U.S. Congress and other institutions.

The new federal parliament will hold its constituent session in Prague on June 27. Its turn of duty, just as that of the Czech and Slovak National Councils, have been shortened to two years (against five years usually) in view of the transition of Czechoslovakia to a plurality democracy and an effective market economy.

The president which will be elected by the new parliament in July will also be in office for only two years. Thus far there is a sole candidate—Vaclav Havel, who was elected for the first time on December 29, 1989.

Calfa Meets Foreign Election Observer Group

LD0906020790 Prague CTK in English 1334 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 8 Jun (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa received here today American Senator Christopher J. Dodd and a group of foreign political and public officials forming one of the international teams of observers of the parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia.

The group, made up of observers from North and Central America, Europe and Australia, was organized by the U.S. National Democratic Institute.

The guests were interested mainly in the functioning of the constitutional mechanism in new conditions as well as in the freedom of enterprise and other aspects of the economic reform.

The two sides also apoke about the role of the United States and the way it could contribute to the processes currently taking place in central and East Europe. Marian Calfa rejected a proposal to leave scope for West European and Japanese partners, stressing that the isolation of the United States before World War II proved to be useless and that no one wishes the United States to leave.

CTK Director Criticizes Electoral Commission

LD0906145890 Prague CTK in English 1301 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 10 Jun (CTK)—Czechoslovak News Agency (CTK) Director General Petr Uhl yesterday addressed a letter to the Central Electoral Commission and to Czechoslovakia's supreme representatives in which he accused the electoral commission of violation of its duties and abuse of its rights.

The criticism was prompted by the request from Central Electoral Commission Chairman Zdenek Zahorsky of June 7 that CTK make public the Czechoslovak People's Party statement on the information of Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml concerning the people's Party chairman, Josef Bartoncik.

According to Petr Uhl, the above-mentioned request did not express the view of the Central Electoral commission as a whole since it was attached only additionally to the commission's stand on the publication of Jan Ruml's information about Josef Bartoncik (that he is unsuitable for running in the parliamentary elections because of his past material on which Jan Ruml obtained) by the mass media through the Czechoslovak News Agency constitutes a gross violation of the election law.

The matter is the more so serious that the Central Electoral Commission urged CTK to publish a statement concerning one political party which would necessarily be tantamount to election agitation to the benefit of this

party right before the elections, Petr Uhl stressed, and noted that the electoral commission thus called on CTK to break the election law.

In conclusion of the letter, Petr Uhl expresses his reservations about the election law which allows any majority in the commission to assert decision which may be detrimental to one of the political parties running in the elections.

Commenting on the Central Electoral Commission's stand on Jan Ruml's statement, Petr Uhl said that it is entirely unacceptable from the point of view of its contents, and moreover it is not legally verifiable since it gives no evidence.

Central Election Commission Issues Statement

LD0906225190 Prague CTK in English 2125 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 9 Jun (CTK)—No shortcomings were found out in the work of district election commissions, the Central Election Commission stated at its evening session here Saturday [9 June].

The commission also discussed an appeal of Chairman of the coalition of the All-People Democratic Party and the Association for the Republic-the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia Miroslav Sladek from the decision of the South Moravian Regional Election Commission according to which three republican party's candidates could not be recalled from their candidature because of the lack of evidence against them.

The central commission finally met this appeal and approved the demanded recallings.

Assesses Counting of Votes

LD1006110990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] The Central Election Commission, at its meeting in Prague this morning, assessed the course to date of processing the election results. Zdenek Zahorsky, chairman of the commission, informed its members that during the course of the night the relaying of results from wards had gone smoothly in the majority of district election commissions and that no exceptional or unforeseen circumstances had occured.

According to Karel Cervenka of the special summarization department of the Central Election commission, the official results of the elections—votes given to individual parties—can be expected sometime this afternoon.

Results of Final Preelection Polls

AU0706111090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 1 Jun 90 p 2

["(pat)"-signed report: "There Will Be a Fight"]

[Text] We received a report on the final election polls conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research shortly after they were completed. The polls were held from 28 to 31 May 1990. About ten days prior to the elections, a representative sample of 683 citizens were asked three questions about the elections to the Federal Assembly and national councils.

The number of voters who have the right to vote and who have decided to cast their ballots has risen from 61 percent in mid-April to the existing 83 percent; 16 percent are undecided. One percent will not go to the polls at all (before the election campaign this number was 3 percent).

The table shows the development of voters' opinion as to what party or movement they would vote for throughout the CSFR (the numbers represent percentages):

	Data Representing the Period:					
	2/27 to 3/7	3/27 to 4/4	4/11 to 4/23	4/27 to 5/3	5/11 to 5/17	5/28 to 5/31
Civic Forum and Public Against Violence	23	19	22	25	32	42
Christian Democratic Union and Christian Democratic Movement	11	18	15	17	16	15
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	13	12	11	12	13	10
Green Party	11	11	9	11	8	4
Social Democratic Party	5	6	5	5	3	4
Union of the Farmers and the Countryside	2	3	3	3	4	4
Slovak National Party	-	-	-	-	2	4
Society for Moravia and Silesia	-	-	-	-	2	4
Czechoslovak Socialist Party	6	6	4	5	3	2
Democratic Party	4	3	4	4	2	2
Other	2	4	3	1	8	5
Undecided	23	18	24	17	7	4

For comparison: the results of the last polls conducted by the Independent Group for Social Analysis were: Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement 39 percent; Christian Democratic Union 13 percent; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 8 percent; Green Party 6 percent; Social Democratic Party 6 percent; Czechoslovak Socialist Party 2 percent; and Union of Farmers and the Countryside 2 percent.

In the Czech Republic the results differ a little from those in Slovakia (Civic Forum and Public Against Violence movement 49—27 percent; Christian Democratic Union 10—23 percent; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia 7—15 percent). A party needs five percent of votes to be admitted to parliament in one republic. According to the survey, in the Federal Assembly will be: the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement, the Christian Democratic Union, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Slovak National Party (11 percent in Slovakia), the Association for Moravia and Silesia (6 percent in the Czech Republic), the Green Party, the Union of Farmers and the Countryside (5 percent in the Czech Republic), the Democratic Party (5 percent in the Slovak Republic)! There has been a significant regrouping of political forces in Slovakia; the Christian Democratic Movement (which is a part of the Christian Democratic Union) has lost the leading position. This leading position has been taken over by the Public Against Violence movement and the Slovak National Party has also gained significantly.

Of the citizens who have decided to vote for a certain party, 40 percent consider themselves to be its fervent adherents and 47 percent of the voters have decided to use the preferential vote. According to 71 percent of the respondents, most votes will be cast in favor of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement. Seventeen percent expects the Christian Democratic Union to win, and 4 percent expects the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to win. Compared to the beginning of the election campaign, people are now more content with the behavior of the parties and movements.

According to the law on elections, the results of election polls can be published seven days prior to the elections at most, that is, for the last time today. Violation of this provision may be considered as the criminal act of marring the preparation and course of the elections for which a penalty of six months to three years in prison can be imposed. This means that the Institute for Public Opinion Research will conduct other election polls which will only be published after the elections.

Yesterday evening, we asked one of the authors of the report on the election polls, Dr. Jan Herzmann, candidate of sciences, what deviations can be expected between the data from these polls and the election polls. "I do not believe that the figures are final. The table shows what shifts in opinion have taken place. For example, there has been an absolute reversal in Slovakia. There are still eight days left until the elections, and this is a long time. Now the fight will be for the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement to gain the absolute majority and, for the other parties, to win more than five percent in order to get into parliament.

Profile of CSFR Parties' Voters

AU1006194690

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 2 June on page 16 carries a 1,000-word article by sociologists Marek Boguszak and Vladimir Rak entitled "Who With Whom and What Will Emerge from It?" The article deals with the results of the sociological survey "Czechoslovakia—May 1990," which was carried out by the "Group for Independent Social Analysis," of which the two authors are members. The article focuses on one aspect of the above study: the profile of supporters of four major political parties and movements running in this year's elections.

The article states that supporters of the Civic Forum (CF) and the Public Against Violence movement (PAV) are voters who show the greatest degree of satisfaction with current political developments. They also show the greatest degree of readiness to tighten their belts for the sake of the economic reform's success and the smallest fear of the future. They are opposed to strikes as a method of dealing with conflicts, are in favor of "vigorous" reform steps, and are convinced that the "painful phase" will not be too long and that five years from now they will be better off than today. According to the authors, "the OF and PAV can rely primarily on the educated populace of the medium and younger age groups, which increases their chances of long-term success."

The Christian and Democratic Union, on the other hand, is "much worse off in this respect. Christian Democrats have support mainly among the oldest age groups with a low level of education," and will therefore "have to explore ways of gaining the support of other sections of the population." In contrast to CF and PAV voters, who stress the values of education, work, and civic activity, i.e. values connected with the development of the whole society, voters of the Christian Democrats "place emphasis on the values of modesty and thrift, equality, self-sufficiency, and adaptability, i.e. individual and family values." Their degree of satisfaction with political developments and their readiness to "tighten their belts" are smaller than those of CF and PAV supporters.

Speaking about the "profile" of voters of the Green Party, the authors say that in January it was "almost indistinguishable" from that of CF and PAV voters. They go on to say that there has been a major shift between January and May. Today "the only characteristic features of the Greens' followers are youth; emphasis on environmental problems, which is natural; and a somewhat greater emphasis on the values of education, work, and civic activity [than among the population at large]."

Voters of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ), finally, are said to represent the "most compact group." The proportion of their voters declines with declining age. In the youngest age group (under 24), the proportion of their supporters is as low as 2.6 percent. The CPCZ voters' "dissatisfaction with political developments contrasts sharply with the rest of the population." They are the ones most afraid of the future, most pessimistic about the economic future, and most likely to resort to strikes to deal with conflicting situations. According to the authors, this confronts the CPCZ with a dilemma because if it really acts in the spirit of its new declarations as a "modern left-wing party," it will "inevitably lose the support of the majority of those who would vote for it now."

Election Committee Chairman Addresses Problems

AU0806225190 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 28 May 90 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Pavel Fabian, chairman of the Slovak Election Committee, by "ns"-signed reporter; place and date not given: "We Are Asking on Your Behalf"]

[Text] ["ns"] The preelection campaign is ending. Have you observed any improper interventions during its course? If yes, could you elaborate?

[Fabian] The Hungarian television broadcast of 20 May 1990 at 1950 [1750 GMT] entitled "A Het" had a campaigning tone which favored the political movement "Coexistence"—this causes inequality in the preelection campaign of political parties and movements.

The Slovak Election Committee asked the Central Election Committee to communicate this standpoint to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with the demand to send a protest to the Hungarian Republic to prevent intervention in CSFR internal affairs.

["ns"] Do you believe that the ethics of the preelection campaign have been violated by the fact that President Havel visited Slovakia and that television paid attention to it?

[Fabian] There was no violation of preelection ethics by paying attention to the president's visit in television coverage. Television is supposed and obliged to report on visits by the most senior government representatives.

A violation happened, however, in Banska Bystrica where the president was being presented to the candidates of the Public Against Violence movement in the presence of a campaigning television commentator.

["ns"] We are receiving hundreds of telephone complaints regarding the incompleteness of, and inaccuracies in, list of voters. How are you going to correct this prior to the elections?

[Fabian] The inaccuracies in voters' lists came to light due to the fact that, contrary to the previous elections, these lists have not been prepared by the national committee workers from their official documents, but these lists have been prepared on the basis of information acquired from the Central Register of Citizens.

The flaws in the list of voters, which are more numerous in the Czech Republic than in Slovakia, are gradually being eliminated by the national committees. These corrections will not be made to the voters' lists, however, they will be reported directly to the electoral commissions. The section leaders at the regional national committees, the national committee in Bratislava, District national committees, and Local national committees in Bratislava have been advised to eliminate the flaws via personal contacts with voters.

Czechoslovak Democratic Forum Program Noted

LD1006010590 Prague CTK in English 1445 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 9 Jun (CTK)—Transition from democracy guaranteed by the Civic Forum and President Vaclav Havel to democracy guaranteed by all is the political creed of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, the non-Communist left-orientated party, its chairman Jiri Kofranek told a press conference here today.

In consequence of discrimination by the Communist Party in the past, the influence of the left in Czechoslovakia is suppressed, but its role will grow along with adverse impacts of the economic reform in the social sphere, Jiri Kofranek said.

In its short existence—it held its constituent conference at the end of March, the party has built up a solid intellectual base.

It takes great interest in close cooperation with Social Democracy, and its closeness with the left alternative is evident.

The party has some reservations about the attitude of the present government to the economic reform, fearing the possibility of linking the still practically unchanged bureaucracy with the foreign capital. The passed Law on the Enterprise has liquidated the possibility of employees to take decisions on their enterprise, the party says.

Dumas Notes 'Pleasure' in Civic Forum Victory

LD1006005990 Prague CTK in English 2144 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 9 Jun (CTK)—France shares the great pleasure the Civic Forum has from its election victory. Visiting French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who arrived for a two-day official visit here today, gave a dinner in honour of his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier tonight.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed in his toast that the official meeting of prominent Czechoslovak

activists of independent initiatives with French President Francois Mitterrand in 1988 considerably increased international prestige of the Charter 77 initiative and was undoubtedly one of the events which contributed to the victory of the November 1989 revolution in Czechoslovakia.

Council of Europe Endorses Elections

LD1006113690 Prague CTK in English
1051 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 10 Jun (CTK)—The people of Czechoslovakia proved in the parliamentary elections that the road towards democracy has been really embarked upon, head of a delegation of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe Louis Jung told a press conference here today.

Observers of this international institution, associating 23 member countries from Western Europe, arrived in Czechoslovakia on June 5 at the invitation of Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. During the two-day elections eight members of the delegation visited 30 polling stations in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. The course of the elections was regular and members of the delegation saw no mistakes, Louis Jung stressed.

The monitoring, control and evaluation of the course of elections is one of the conditions for membership of the Council of Europe. Czechoslovakia was granted a special observer statute on May 7 and is expected to become a regular Council of Europe member next year.

Due to its democratic traditions and the new development Czechoslovakia will have a legitimate place in integrated Europe, Louis Jung underlined.

U.S. Observers 'Impressed' by Election Process

LD1006125190 Prague CTK in English
1110 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Prague, 10 Jun (CTK)—A 64-member international observer delegation of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs of the U.S.A. described the parliamentary elections on June 8-9 as free and honest here today.

Speaking at a press conference, one of the heads of the delegation, U.S. Senator Christopher J. Dodd said that the course of the elections was regular and calm which proved the devotedness of Czechoslovak citizens to the cause of democracy. There were no shortcomings which would jeopardize the validity of the results, he stressed.

Members of the American delegation were deeply impressed by what they saw. Regardless of the years of the totalitarian hegemony the people participated in the elections and contributed to the development of democracy in Czechoslovakia. "The elections proved that you all can teach us how a democratic society is to function," the American senator said and pointed out in this context the high number of people who participated in the elections (according to estimations some 96 per cent of voters took part). This demonstrates the confidence of citizens in the current system and the fact that democratic traditions survived even after 40 years of the totalitarian hegemony, he said.

The 64-member group which has arrived here to monitor the first free elections in Czechoslovakia after 44 years observed their course in 11 towns. It visited more than 200 polling stations.

GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German reunification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

De Maiziere Said Bringing Gorbachev NATO Plan

LD1006192690 Hamburg DPA in German 1829 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Munich (DPA)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) will bring to his meeting with U.S. President George Bush tomorrow [11 June] a plan from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev concerning a solution to the controversial issue of the future alliance membership of a united Germany, according to a report in SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. In it, membership of a united Germany in NATO is made conditional on transforming NATO into a political alliance. The paper quotes in its Monday edition the "closest circles" of De Maiziere, writing that the GDR delegation is convinced that this plan will bring about a breakthrough in the difficult negotiations on unification.

According to the plan, the future five GDR laender will be given special status, until a European security structure, under the auspices of the CSCE, has been set up. During that time NATO troops will have no access to the territory of the present GDR, while Soviet units may remain deployed there. This special status will be agreed on contractually between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. According to SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Gorbachev is firmly resolved to actively promoting the dissolution of the military blocs.

According to the report, Gorbachev said on the sidelines of the Warsaw Pact summit in Moscow last Thursday [7 June] that he is striving for "compatible structures" between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in transforming the military organizations to civilian purposes, and disarmament. As a counter move, the Soviet Union expects NATO to make an unambiguous decision to change itself into a political alliance. Moscow is linking these expectations to the next NATO summit in London in early July. The second concession to the USSR consists of massive economic aid from the FRG for the afflicted [angeschlagen] country.

Denies Bringing New Plan to U.S. Meeting

LD1106074890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0154 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] New York (ADN reporter)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere, in a statement conveyed to ADN, has unambiguously rejected rumors concerning a new plan about the alliance membership of the future united Germany, which, it was claimed, he is to present at his meeting with President George Bush. A relevant report, disseminated first by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG (11 June edition), is not borne out by facts.

Naturally, "at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact member states in Moscow, the politicalization of the blocs was discussed, and considered an essential element concerning a new dimension for the security structures in the whole of Europe." Likewise, the talks by Lothar de Maiziere in Washington have to be seen from that viewpoint. However, the premier is not bringing to Washington a plan concerning the future membership of Germany in a military alliance.

Aims To Solve Esponiage Problems

LD0906135690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Munich (ADN)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere is aiming for a legal solution to clear up German-German espionage problems. In an interview in today's SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, De Maiziere said that it could not be a matter of one side's agents being pursued and "the other side's being counted as the just." The paper writes that at the same time he had hinted that relevant exploratory talks had already taken place between Bonn and East Berlin. According to the paper, De Maiziere said of reports that some of the former GDR spies might have been taken over by the KGB that he considered it "a myth:" there is nothing serious in it.

It is his conviction that no more danger emanates from the former Stasi empire. Its structures have been successfully smashed. "I assume that there are no longer any units existing intact," the paper quotes the premier as saying. The former bugging centers are also under control.

Asks for U.S. Business Investments

LD1006163190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] New York (ADN reporter)—Premier Lothar de Maiziere has invited U.S. companies to "discover the economic and investment location" of East Germany. The GDR is definitely counting on the support of Western industrial nations to overcome its enormous economic backlog, the premier said at a dinner with leading representatives of U.S. financial institutions and industrial enterprises at his residence, the U.N. Plaza Hotel, in New York today [10 June].

"We think reason and intelligence dictate," De Maiziere said, "that besides West German enterprises also other Western industrial nations—and I would like to stress the United States in particular—should be expressly encouraged to invest in the GDR." U.S. business representatives received with great interest De Maiziere's declaration that East Berlin does not favor an "economic fortress of Germany," but is striving for "open borders for capital and investment."

Concerning the tasks of central importance for economic development, the premier named the modernization of almost all sectors of the people's economy, particularly the infrastructure, telecommunications, the energy industry, and environmental protection. At present, building up a competitive food industry and developing the services industry are of equal importance.

In the interests of mutual advantage, the premier continued, it is important that "German-U.S. corporate relations are quickly conceived and contractually regulated in the GDR." His government will give every conceivable support to U.S. banks wishing to facilitate the investment and economic activity of U.S. firms in the GDR, De Maiziere promised.

At present, trade between the GDR and the United States and GDR companies' borrowing from U.S. banks are still completely underdeveloped. The GDR's share in U.S. foreign trade amounts to only 0.2 percent. The absence of a trade agreement and the failure to grant most favored nation status are detrimental to rapid development for both countries. "We hope that with your support, and of course also as a result of our talks here in the United States, pointers can be found for a rapid solution to these matters in the interests of both parties," the premier said. The liberalization of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] stipulations for the GDR prove that such solutions are possible.

In order to guarantee domestic and foreign investors favorable conditions for the rapid foundation of companies, the GDR's tax legislation will be altered accordingly. At the same time, it is essential that "important laws in the areas of economic and social legislation are taken over directly from the FRG."

The GDR is turning toward a market economy under complicated conditions, but at the same time with major possibilities, Lothar de Maiziere said. It has great opportunities to develop into a "bridge between the countries of East and South Europe." "Here it is important to open new markets. This too leads to major opportunities for U.S. investments in the future."

Pledges To Compensate Nazi Victims

LD1006191190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1729 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] New York (ADN reporter)—According to Premier Lothar de Maiziere, the GDR will keep its promise of material compensation for Jewish victims of Nazi terror. At meetings on Saturday evening [9 June] in New York with World Jewish Congress (WJC) President Edgar M. Bronfman, and Jewish Claims Conference President Rabbi Israel Miller,—a group which represents compensation claims from Jews worldwide—De Maiziere advocated the early creation of "framework conditions for concrete compensation negotiations." "For us, caring for our fellow Jewish citizens," the premier said at a dinner given by Edgar M. Bronfman, "is not only a social question or a matter of the budget, it is a matter of the heart."

The GDR too has the historic responsibility "to keep alive the memory of the victims, and to passionately fight all signs of anti-semitism, racism, and hostility to foreigners wherever they occur."

Fears, particularly those of Jewish citizens, about a united Germany, the GDR premier said, are understandable but unfounded. "A united Germany will have international links and ties, and it is not the national but the European dimension which will provide the framework for this united Germany." Freedom, freedom of movement and freedom of information will today no longer permit narrow and inflexible ways of thinking as were widespread under National Socialism. "In a common European home, with open doors and windows to all sides, there can no longer be torture chambers," Lothar de Maiziere said.

The premier announced that the GDR will promote youth exchanges between Israel and Germany. "We want to help establish many contacts for GDR youth, which has for so long been held apart from the Western world, and that means also from meetings with Jewish citizens." In conclusion, De Maiziere reiterated the GDR's request to the Jews throughout the world for reconciliation. "We ask for reconciliation, we ask for trust, because we want to shape a better future together with them."

'Tacit Agreement' on Pact Withdrawal Seen

LD0906081490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0142 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—The GDR's leaving the Warsaw Pact was not discussed in Moscow, Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann said in this morning's edition [9 June] of the BERLINER MORGENPOST. Nevertheless, there was a tacit agreement that the GDR will cancel its membership on the day of Germany's political unification. The minister described simultaneously bringing about German unification and the creation of new security structures in Europe as the ideal situation, for then people could be spared uncomfortable and unusual interim solutions.

The minister went on to say that the entire military structures of the Warsaw Pact as well as the joint high command will be abolished by the end of the year. He sees no wartime use for most of the Armies of East Europe. For example, he could not imagine the Armies of Poland, Czechoslovakia, or the GDR marching westwards. Eppelmann supported these Armies being allowed in the future to act solely on their own territory. An end must be put once and for all to so-called fraternal acts of assistance such as marching into Prague in 1968. As a consequence of this, all treaties of military assistance should be cancelled. In view of the Soviet Union's military strength, U.S. troops must remain on the continent in the interests of peace and security in Europe.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact are relics of the division of Europe, according to Eppelmann. In Moscow the Eastern alliance has narrowly missed breaking apart. Eppelmann said he hopes the NATO member states will use their political strength to achieve a European security system. This must be open to all CSCE states on the continent. Above all, it must have a political orientation but would also have "a rump of military tasks" to fulfill because a world order of peace cannot be foreseen.

Eppelmann rejected the proposal by his cabinet colleague, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, to create an East European security zone as "not particularly helpful." Rather, the entire strength of the blocs should be directed toward the creation of a unitary system. The GDR wants to help build "symbols of confidence" and break down hostile images. Eppelmann said he is thinking of "bilateral brigades" here. Relevant offers have been made to Poland, the USSR, the Netherlands, and Austria.

The defense minister is convinced that the Warsaw Pact defense ministers' meeting in Strausberg next week will be the last of its kind. The agenda originally planned, which was to focus on deepening military cooperation, is out of date, Eppelmann said. Instead, the defense ministers will deal with how the transformation of the Pact declared at the Moscow summit is to be carried out.

Berlin Wall Demolition Planned 13 Jun

LD0806162590 Hamburg DPA in German 1456 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—The announced complete demolition of the Berlin Wall is to begin finally this coming Wednesday [13 June]. The GDR Government departments concerned, the East Berlin City government and the Senate intend to decide in talks this weekend in which order the wall is to be torn down. East Berlin Government spokesman Christian Hossbach told this to reporters at East Berlin's town hall. [passage omitted]

It has still not been settled how the remains of the wall are to be disposed of, the spokesman said. The disposal, in which a West German firm has shown interest, is not without problems because of the asbestos content.

Meckel Opens SPD Extraordinary Congress

LD0906101290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0819 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—Markus Meckel, acting chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD], opened the extraordinary party congress of the GDR's Social Democrats this morning [9 June]. The delegates welcomed as guests Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the West German SPD, and Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of both Social Democratic parties. Under the slogan "Shaping the Future with Social Responsibility" the participants intend to reach agreement on the future political course of their parties. The decisive point on the agenda will be the election of a new party chairman. The candidates so far for this post are Dr. Gottfried Timm and Dankward Brinksmeier. The nomination of other hopefuls for the highest party office has not been ruled out it, was said in party circles. [passage omitted]

Polish Border Resolution Planned

LD0906123690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1116 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—German unity must be fashioned in such a way that people benefit from it, Markus Meckel, acting chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the foreign minister, said at the extraordinary party congress in his summing-up of two months of SPD membership in the government. [passage omitted]

Meckel announced that both German parliaments intend to pass a resolution on Poland's western border on 21 June. There are still arguments about the text at the moment. In his opinion, this argument does not do the Germans' image any good. Poland must be given the security it needs. Germany could thus also prove itself to be capable of peace in the future. The foreign minister cited the consolidation and fashioning of the Laender in the GDR as important central tasks for the work of the government. In Meckel's opinion the State Treaty needs a second one [treaty] which will make it possible to apply Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law. In this context an all-German constitution, for example, must be dealt with.

Call for Referendum on Unity

LD0906101990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—The people themselves should set up unity through a referendum in the two parts of Germany. This is not a formality for the Social Democrats but has the highest political importance. This view was put forward by Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the FRG Social Democratic Party [SPD], in a welcoming address at the special SPD congress in Halle. "The way in which the greater German federal state comes into being will characterize its identity and the image it has of itself far into the future," Vogel said, concentrating in his speech on the State Treaty and the continuation of state unification. He said this also includes the unification of the two Social Democratic parties. They want to contest all-German elections as one party. The Social Democrats want to shape the future of a united Germany as a leading government party.

Vogel said the GDR's SPD has exerted a strong influence on the State Treaty, in particular its oscilatting stipulations. "We are no doubt agreed on the fact that the treaty must not fail now, because an ungovernable chaos would otherwise be the consequence." The FRG's SPD, however, has demanded additions and amendments to the treaty in order to protect viable enterprises from collapse and give environmental union the same status as the

economic, monetary, and social union. Honesty compelled him to say that Oskar Lafontaine's reservations are based on fears that the path taken by Helmut Kohl means burdens and social disintegration for the people of the GDR which could have been avoided by other means. Vogel said he believes that the spiritual and European dimension should be given more importance and that material aspects should not dominate the scene. [passage omitted]

Vogel on SPD, Elections

LD0906202290 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1605 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Interview with FRG Social Democratic Party (SPD) Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel by unidentified Deutschlandsender reporter at the GDR SPD special congress in Halle on 9 June—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Dr. Vogel, there is more and more speculation about an election date, if possible an early election date; there is talk about 13 January 1991. The federal foreign minister is not the only one who has referred to this date. In view of this promised election date, do you think it is necessary for the GDR SPD to elect a party chairman here today, as the parties, too, will unite in the foreseeable future?

[Vogel] The question you are asking me is a question that our sister party has to decide on her own responsibility and in a sovereign way. Whatever the rumors about election dates, both of us—we and the sister party—take the view that a second state treaty is necessary to implement state unification, and we think this state treaty must be negotiated carefully and not in a hurry again. Concerning issues like transition regulations and legal alignment, there are many problems that have to be considered seriously, and these processes must not happen over the heads of the people: therefore we have ended up with different prospects, for the time being. But you can be sure that whenever these elections do take place, the two parties will run as one party in the elections.

[Reporter] Regarding the State Treaty, there are, or were, in the last few weeks some differences between the opinions of the GDR SPD, the SPD in the FRG, above all at grassroots level, and the view of chancellor candidate Oskar Lafontaine. Do you recognize these differences?

[Vogel] This is not only true of Oscar Lafontaine. There are indeed different stages in the decision-making process. The sister party here decided to say yes, first in the cabinet and now as we have heard today in the People's Chamber. So their decision-making process has been concluded. We are still in this process; next week when the negotiations with the federal government on our demands have been finished, then we, too, will end our decision-making process with a final assessment. Oskar Lafontaine's views and opinions will be considered fully in this process. The difference can also be explained by the fact that here the SPD as a government party was fully involved in the negotiations, whereas with us Mr. Kohl, until recently, treated the whole subject as his personal matter. Only after our demand, after Oskar Lafontaine's firm intervention, and above all because the majority in the Bundesrat [Upper House in FRG Parliament] changed because of Lower Saxony, is he now prepared to talk and negotiate, which had not been the case until then.

[Reporter] So you are no longer objecting to the implementation of the State Treaty?

[Vogel] This is absolutely clear. Oskar Lafontaine, myself and many others have said that as things have happened now, though we are not responsible for this, the Treaty must not fall through now—otherwise, considering the high expectations, an uncontrollable chaos would be created here on 2 July, and nobody wants this.

[Reporter] One last and very short question: Will Oskar Lafontaine remain the chancellor candidate in all-German elections, even after the unification of the two parties?

[Vogel] In my opinion, unreservedly yes.

Thierse Elected SPD Chairman

LD0906170590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The 46-year-old academic and deputy SPD [Social Democratic party] parliamentary group chairman, Wolfgang Thierse, was elected to the highest GDR SPD party office today in Halle, with 271 votes out of 414 delegates. Dr. Gottfried Timm and Dankward Brinksmeier ran with him for the office of party chairman. They received 51 and 65 votes, respectively, out of the 393 valid votes.

Shortly after his election, Thierse stated to the press that in view of the growing together of the two German Social Democratic parties, he definitely viewed his new office as being temporary. In his opinion this process is dependent on making diverging interests common ones, and formulating political goals from them.

There is such a joint Social Democratic interest in "distributing fairly the chances and risks of unity."

Thierse Addresses Congress

LD0906203390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1859 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—It is now necessary to improve the organizational state of the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD], particularly the lack of communication between the grass roots and the party leadership. This was stressed by the new chairman of the GDR Social Democrats, Wolfgang Thierse, immediately after his election by the delegates to the SPD Special Congress in Halle today [9 June]. [passage omitted] The Special Congress ended this evening.

During the one day of discussions, the participants made a critical review of SDP activity in the past months, in the People's Chamber, in government, and in the party grass roots. The main topics of discussion were the State Treaty and the unification of the two German Social Democratic parties. Markus Meckel asked the FRG sister party to approve the State Treaty. The party approved a motion for the party leadership to begin contact with the executive of the SPD of the FRG.

With a view to strengthening the party, the plenum decided to allow admission to the SPD of former members of other parties following examination by the local associations. It thereby overturned a decision taken at the Leipzig congress aimed primarily at preventing "subversion" by former Socialist Unity Party of Germany members. There was also a change to the statutes, renaming the "Young Social Democrats" the Youth Association of the SPD.

The two Social Democratic parties agreed at the Halle Congress that a second state treaty is necessary in order to complete state unity. [passage omitted]

According to Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, who spoke about the work of the Social Democrats in the coalition government, German unity must be so fashioned that it benefits the people. Neither the socially vulnerable nor the European peoples should need to fear it. [passage omitted]

Deputy chairman Karl-August Kamilli stressed that the most important tasks include winning back traditional voter groups. The party must stop thinking about itself and must now carry out political work.

Delegates from various parts of the republic voiced disappointment and criticism about relations to date between the executive and the grass roots. [passage omitted]

GDR 'Provisional Basic Law' Outlined

LD1006123890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1158 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—WELT AM SONNTAG has published details of a "provisional basic law" for the GDR, which Justice Minister Kurt Wuensche [League of Free Democrats] is said to have initiated. This draft lays down in Article 1 that the GDR is "a democratic and social federal state, based on the rule of law," structured into federal states [Laender]. The federal states are entitled "to perform state tasks", insofar as these are not apportioned to the republic by this provisional basic law.

One of the central points in the draft constitution, according to the paper, is the introduction of the office of president. The "president of the republic" is to be given political powers which go beyond those of the West German president. He represents the republic in international law and concludes state treaties on behalf of the republic with other states and the FRG.

The draft also lays down the time limit solution for abortions. "Women have the right to decide on pregnancy themselves. The state protects unborn life by offering social help," the paper quotes from the document.

According to WELT AM SONNTAG's information, there are strong political disagreements among the parties in the GDR about Wuensche's draft constitution. The Christian Democratic Union is strongly against it, whereas the Social Democratic Party is in favor of a new provisional constitution in the period after economic, monetary, and social union.

Hungary Not To Participate in Pact Exercises

LD0806171690 Budapest MTI in English
1619 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, June 8 (MTI)—"Hungary is not to take part in this year's WT [Warsaw Pact] military exercises, and is to remove its forces from under the command of the Combined Armed Forces (CAF)," said Lajos Fur, Hungarian minister of defence, to Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defence of the Soviet Union.

The two defence ministers held talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the prospective relations between the Hungarian Army and the Warsaw Treaty.

The Hungarian minister is also member of the Hungarian state delegation which had attended the session of the WT political consultative body, and held bilateral negotiations with the Soviet military leadership and the leaders of the WT CAF on June 8.

After the talks, Mr. Fur told the MTI correspondent that he had called for accelerating the Soviet troops pullout. The Soviet side reponded with saying that this could not be met because of transport and accomodation problems.

The Hungarian defence minister still spoke optimistically that the withdrawal would continue according to schedule in future as well.

As regards the differences of views on the financial settlement, Mr. Fur and his Soviet counterpart had appeared unanimous on the need for transferring the decision on these issues from the military to higher levels.

Mr. Fur said: "During the talks, I stated that Hungary was not to take part in the WT military exercises this year and intended to place the Hungarian Army fully under national commandership."

"I also said that this had partly to do with the review of the Warsaw Treaty just now initiated, and partly with Hungary's wish to cancel its WT membership by late next year. Until then, the emphasis should be laid on its political character. Besides, the country's economic situation does not allow for spending millions on maneouvres."

Mr. Fur said the Soviet Defence Ministry officers seemed to understand. At the same time, the idea seemed to be quite repulsive to the highest military leaders of the Warsaw Treaty, who had also attended the talks.

Evaluating the session of the WT Political Consultative body, Mr. Fur was pleased to say that they were successful in incorporating the Hungarian ideas into the statement. "At the beginning, I thought that we would be receiving a much more wholehearted support from our partners. Yet only the Czechoslovak position was close to ours, with the others speaking on the prospects of the WT only in generalities."

"The Hungarian position, if not totally isolated, showed some major divergences from the opinion of the member states."

The statement we passed, however, reflects a new situation and a turning point, while striking a very conciliatory note towards the NATO, one almost verging on a friendly gesture," [no opening quotation mark as received] said Mr. Fur.

Summing up his personal impressions, he said that Dmitriy Yazov looked like a very understanding person, who seemed to accept the Hungarian position. This was far from being the case with the WT leaders, he said.

Mr. Fur thinks there were several reasons which suggested that it would be a bad decision to create tensions at the talks. One of these is the fact that should the Soviet side decide to stem the supply of component parts, the bulk of the military technology imported from the Soviet Union would become useless.

News Conference Outlines Troop Pullout Finances

LD0806200490 Budapest MTI in English
1315 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—About 6,000 buildings and other premises in 100 or so locations throughout Hungary will be vacated during the Soviet troops pull-out from the country, and the Soviet partners are asking to be compensated for the investments they made here.

At a press conference at the Hungarian Defence Ministry today, it was announced that Hungary only wishes to compensate the Soviets for what they built with official Hungarian consent.

This involves about 2,000 buildings worth 10 billion forints (U.S. $150 million).

The Soviet partners insist they invested 50 billion forints in the other 4,000 premises, and want at least 40 billion forints' damages.

Ministry experts explained that what the Hungarian side would like to achieve in the final analysis is a zero payment balance.

Incidentally, the Soviet troops withdrawal started this March and, according to the Hungrian-Soviet agreement, will be completed by June 30, 1991.

Soviet Assets Left Behind Viewed

LD0806201290 Budapest MTI in English
1441 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—The Ministry of Defence refuted the Debrecen press information that

back in the mid-seventies, 25 million forints from Hungarian funds were spent on building 80 flats at the Debrecem Airport recently abandoned by Soviet troops.

Brigadier General Ferenc Gabor of the Ministry of Defence told a press conference in Budapest on Friday [8 June] that any Soviet investments made with official consent were completed with the involvement of the communal investment company, and before every act of payment the Southern Army Group had transferred the full cost to the State Development Bank.

During the past decades, altogether 2,000 such projects were completed to the tune to 10,000 million forints.

The debate between the Hungarian and Soviet sides concerns the fact that about 4,000 different projects were completed by the Soviets non-officially. At a press conference at the Hungarian Defence Ministry today, it was announced that Hungary only wishes to compensate the Soviets for what they built with official Hungarian consent.

The Soviet partners told newsmen they invested 50 billion forints in the other 4,000 premises.

The Soviet officials say they are handing over 15-17,000 flats to the Hungarians, but the genuine figure is only 5,300, and most of them in very run-down condition. The other buildings cannot be considered flats under Hungarian technical standards, since there is only one water bloc for every 50-60 rooms.

Ministry experts explained that what the Hungarian side would like to achieve in the final analysis is a zero payment balance.

Foreign Minister Jeszenszky on Warsaw Pact

PM0806143490 Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Xavier Gautier in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] [Gautier] You are going to Paris this morning. What is the aim of your visit?

[Jeszenszky] I am responding to an invitation from the West European Union which has asked me to address its assembly on 7 June. This gives me the opportunity to establish contacts in that capital. First, I will have had several meetings in Copenhagen in the context of the meeting on the human dimension and I will probably have had talks with [French Foreign Minister] Mr. Dumas.

[Gautier] When you oppose Hungary's rapid withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, is it simply that you are worried by too hasty a withdrawal?

[Jeszenszky] We are completely in favor of Hungarian withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Our view on this has never changed: We stand to gain nothing from remaining in that organization, that is obvious. Hungary wants to participate in the establishment of a new security system in Europe. We have stopped regarding Europe as a continent divided into two. It is now possible to envisage not belonging to a military bloc. You must understand that if we want to find a lasting solution in Europe, we can only achieve it by involving the Soviets in it.

[Gautier] Does this mean that the Soviet attitude will be decisive?

[Jeszenszky] We have always been in favor of Hungary's negotiated withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. There is no question of taking this step unilaterally, without first consulting the other members. Furthermore, our close economic ties with the Soviet Union force us to find an agreement with Moscow. Our caution is therefore natural. Nobody is saying that the Soviet troops must leave Hungary immediately. Their withdrawal will be gradual.

Even if there are now more urgent problems to be solved—the economic crisis for instance—we do not want the withdrawal of Soviet troops to be delayed. This could take place fairly rapidly.

[Gautier] There is talk of the end of June 1991.

[Jeszenszky] It is still impossible to set a date. We understand the USSR's legitimate hesitations. It has its own historical memories. I think that politics is the art of the possible.

[Gautier] Apropos, Mikhail Gorbachev has returned from the United States to serious domestic problems. The question of his replacement is no longer taboo in Moscow. Are you still sure that the democratization process in Hungary and in Central Europe is irreversible?

[Jeszenszky] (Long silence) Each leader must one day think about being replaced. I would have nothing against Gorbachev's replacement in a democratic framework, in accordance with the will of the majority of the Soviet people. I have never been to the USSR, but from what I know about that country, it is he who represents the best solution. At least for the time being. He is the man who initiated this reform which has affected everybody, and he certainly has merits.

Not Yet Ready

[Gautier] Hungary's forthcoming entry into the Council of Europe is now certain. Is this important step toward European integration regarded as the first step toward EEC membership?

[Jeszenszky] I hope that our entry into the council will take place next November. If the integration process were delayed, it would be a bitter disappointment for us all. We were the first (of the former socialist countries) to apply to join. We have fulfilled all the preconditions. Being regarded as true Europeans would be a kind of protection against any backward step.

The majority of Hungarians are in favor of the country joining all the existing European institutions. But I am well aware that we are not yet completely ready. There is no question of applying for EEC membership in the immediate future. Our economy must first be completely restructured. When applications are open in Brussels once again, we will be prepared to accept the privileges and burdens of membership.

[Gautier] When you were appointed, you publicly paid tribute to Gyula Horn, your socialist predecessor. Is there a place in your government for a prominent figure like Mr. Horn?

[Jeszenszky] Even if Mr. Horn thinks that it is his party which is responsible for the changes, it is fairer to say that he implemented our policy—the one advocated by the former opposition. That is why we supported his policy. But we are not a continuation of the previous government, as we are often accused of being.

[Gautier] How do you view your relations with Romania and Czechoslovakia on the minorities issue? What right can Budapest still claim over Transylvania?

[Jeszenszky] We will honor all the international treaties and primarily the peace treaties. We have no territorial claims on anybody. But we have a duty to help the Hungarian minority to maintain its identity in a territory which was formerly part of Hungary. The Hungarians in Romania ought to have the rights which they are still refused. Borders should be easier to cross. It is ridiculous to think that to go from Budapest to Temesvar (Timisoara) it takes longer than it did in 1913.

[Gautier] What do you think of the calls being heard in some places for the reconstitution of the Austro-Hungarian empire?

[Jeszenszky] Any restoration of the monarchy is out of the question. Our agenda contains something of much greater scope—European building. Inside Europe, there is of course a place for preferential relations between some regions of Central Europe—areas of cooperation—but they must be within the broader framework of Europe.

Speaks on French Relations

LD0806105590 Budapest MTI in English 0855 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 8 (MTI)—Having concluded his Paris visit, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky left for Brussels on Friday morning [8 May].

Mr. Jeszenszky, who was invited to attend the Paris general assembly of the West European Union, gave an address on the Hungarian Government's foreign policy goals. In the French capital he was also met by senior government officials and party leaders.

Speaking to Hungarian journalists before his departure, Mr. Jeszenszky said although he was paying a visit to Paris at the invitation of the West European Union's general assembly, the visit provided a favourable opportunity to dispel misunderstandings.

According to the uniform view by his French partners Hungary and the new government showed signs of a kind of paralytic state, as no response was given to various French proposals or suggestions. Mr. Jeszenszky was firm in stating that 'We cannot allow from Hungarian side a break of weeks or months in our contacts.'

Hungary would like to see increased French presence in the Central European region, Mr. Jeszenszky continued. Earlier on France had been traditionally a supporter of Hungary's 'rivals' or opponents. Recent years have brought a definite change in this attitude. Former prejudices by France are a thing of the past. (He mentioned the issue of the Hungarian minority in Romania as an example, in which the French approach is nearer to the Hungarian one.) This is a very important and welcome element in French politics, Mr. Jeszenszky said.

Economic and cultural links between the two countries also lag behind possibilities but now we must concentrate on strengthening economic ties, the foreign minister said.

Mme. Elisabeth Gigou, personal adviser to President Mitterrand, told newsmen about plans to appoint an emissary for coordinating assistance and aid to Hungry. The Hungarian side is also likely to appoint a government emissary to coordinate relations with France, Mr. Jeszenszky reported, adding that one of the major tasks ahead for the new government will be to organise and avail itself of all the assistance offered in the past one or two years.

Views Meeting With Celac

LD0906154490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified "Panorama" program reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] At the European conference [CSCE] in Copenhagen, our country, together with Czechoslovakia and another three countries, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy submitted a proposal, the so-called pentagonal proposal, for the guarantee of minority rights. Our new foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, represented Hungary's position in Copenhagen and Paris. He spoke to "Panorama" in Paris:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Did you meet your Romanian counterpart in Copenhagen?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, I met him. I would have greatly regretted it if we had somehow missed one another. Thus, a certain exchange of views—not a lengthy one—took place. It was not the sort of half-hour or 45-minute

meeting like the other 10-12 meetings, because what we had to discuss with Romania is not a half-hour or 45-minute matter.

[Reporter] What was condensed into this half-hour?

[Jeszenszky] I tell you, this was not a formal meeting. Rather, it was a hallway conversation—several hallway conversations. On the one hand, Foreign Minister Celac very much emphasized that he, personally, feels obliged to open up a new relationship with Hungary, to open a new page in the history of relations. I very much hope that he said this seriously.

He also said that the Romanian premier would soon hand the Hungarian premier a big package on Romanian ideas and recommendations. We obviously shall read this with interest. In any event, these can only be replies, because Hungary has already, a very long time ago, indicated several times the questions for which we await a reply and decision.

Otherwise, I also have to add that the situation now is different from even six months ago, or in January, because the Magyars in Romania now have a party; they have responsible, elected representatives. Thus, they are there; they are the ones who must be asked primarily by the Romanian leadership what they desire in order to safeguard their rights and their future.

In this we can only provide support, and we shall do so.

[Reporter] During this hallway meeting, was there discussion, or mention, of the Bucharest announcment by Mr. Celac, a few weeks ago, that a joint Romanian-Hungarian proposal would be put on the table in Copenhagen, on the rights of national minorities? Was there mention of where he got this from?

[Jeszenszky] Well, I did not put an such awkward question to him. Possibly it was not his personal action. It might have been an experimental balloon of the Romanian Foreign Ministry to see whether we might swallow the bait, so to speak. We have our own proposal.

[Reporter] What did they say to this pentagonal proposal?

[Jeszenszky] Immediately after my speech, they took the proposal from us and said they would study it, so that they could refer to it in the speech by the Romanian foreign minister. In fact, they did refer to it. In the end, the reply of the Romanian foreign minister when we parted company yesterday, was that he had immediately sent it to Bucharest, and without the approval of Bucharest he could not support it, but he was not averse to supporting it.

I believe that it would be very good if Romania were to join this proposal, because this is an extremely important proposal. It is not the proposal of Hungary alone—five states worked it out. Naturally, the Copenhagen meeting cannot pass obligatory decisions, it does not have validity in terms of international law, but it does have moral weight—and the weight of the whole CSCE process is increasing. So I believe that the closer the document adopted here is to the Hungarian proposal, the greater the reassurance we can feel when regarding the solution of the minority question. Properly speaking, by this means the peace of Europe would be greatly strengthen. [end recording]

Signs Accord on EC Representation

LD0806181990 Budapest MTI in English 1644 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Brussels, June 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Frans Andriessen, vice-president of the European Communities Commission in charge of foreign relations and trade policy, signed in Brussels on Friday [8 June] the agreement on opening the Budapest representation of the European Communities. The representation is expected to be opened in mid-July.

Following the ceremony, Mr. Andriessen held an hour-long discussion with the Hungarian foreign minister. Discussing these talks, Mr. Andriessen told MTI's correspondent:

"The main theme was how we should shape the future relation between Hungary and the European Communities. We discussed the possibilities of the partnership agreement between the EC and Hungary, the concept of very close relations which such an agreement will include. The supreme forum of the community, the Council of Europe—the conference of heads of state and governments—has already approved this conception, we are working out its details.

"We hope we shall be able to begin preparatory talks with the countries concerned, including Hungary, sometime at the end of the year, as we shall have to carry out many internal proceedings until then.

"We strive for the closest possible cooperation during this period, when the reform process and economic restructuring are in progress in Hungary," Mr. Andriessen said.

Antall, Goncz View Gorbachev's Style

LD1006202690 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 10 (MTI)—"To us, the most important result from last week's on the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee was that on our proposal a delegation will be sent to revise the organization's activity and the talks starting early next year may well result in the abolition of the alliance," Prime Minister Joszef Antall said in an interview with the Sunday Evening political magazine "The Week" of Hungarian Television.

Antall said that he considered Mikhail Gorbachev a politician of vision, who—similarly to former U.S. President Kennedy—is far more popular abroad than at home.

Interim President Arpad Goncz, who also attended the Moscow talks, pointed out that Gorbachev is a sincere, self-assured politician whose psychological reserves are inexhaustible.

Goncz said the sides spoke the same language at the talks and the Hungarians tried to convince the Soviet partners of the predictability of Hungarian foreign policy even if views differ.

Goncz, Antall, Fur Return From Moscow

LD0806135590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarian delegation that took part in the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session has returned from Moscow. Our country was represented at the session by Interim President of Republic Arpad Goncz, Premier Joszef Antall, and Defense Minister Lajos Fuer.

Fur on Talks With Counterpart

LD0806134890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] In Moscow, the Hungarian defense minister affirmed at the discussions he held with his Soviet colleague that Hungary is not taking part in this year's maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact and will withdraw its forces from the command of the Combined Armed Forces. Lajos Fur also urged the acceleration of the Soviet troop withdrawal, while Dmitriy Yazov stated that the Soviet Union cannot resolve this because of transportation and accommodation problems. The two ministers agreed that the disputed issues surrounding accounting should not be settled by the military and a decision about a solution has to be made at a higher level. Marshall Yazov and the Soviet Defense Ministry greeted with understanding Hungary's endeavor that within the Warsaw Pact the political character should have the emphasis, but the supreme leaders of the military bloc reacted to this proposal with reservations.

Gorbachev 'Understanding' on Withdrawal

LD0806170390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The Hungarian delegation that took part in the session of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee has arrived home from Moscow. Today Premier Joszef Antall held a discussion with Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. The Hungarian premier was driven directly from the airport [in Budapest] to the parliament building for the festive welcome of Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and for talks. Gabor Bankuti asked Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo to the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] The Hungarian premier conducted a lengthy, detailed, more-than-two-hour discussion in Moscow with Premier Ryzhkov. It was necessary for him to hurry directly from the Kremlin to the airport. The discussion was very sincere, open, concrete, and overall had a friendly atmosphere.

They surveyed practically the totality of our bilateral relations. On both sides, it was emphasized that we should like to preserve the totality of our relations, their level and volume. Indeed we should like if possible to develop them further in a new structure.

The discussions took place in a fully relaxed and cordial atmosphere, and they also spoke sincerely and openly about the various smaller-larger problems burdening our relations. Nonetheless, according to my information, they did not go into really serious, concrete details. They established that now, when the system of relations must be placed on a new basis, the most suitable form for this would be, after more thorough preparation, for a Hungarian economic government delegation to go to Moscow in the coming weeks, and to survey, with the relevant Soviet officials, their partners, the entire range of our economic relations.

The exchange of views with Gorbachev also took place in a very sincere, open and really understanding atmosphere. This was the meeting where the Hungarian government delegation stated its most important message; namely, that Hungary's objective is to separate from the Warsaw Pact military organization at the latest by 1991, whether the operation of this military organization is transformed by then, whether perhaps it is wound up, as we would like, or whether it is not. Gorbachev received this with understanding. Naturally he did not give an immediate, direct reply to it, but he told Joszef Antall that he understood the new Hungarian Government's position.

[Bankuti] Does our position, that its [Warsaw Pact] character, function, and methods must be reexamined, mean that if its military organization is abolished—different character, function and methods, perhaps if this result is achieved at the extraordinary meeting in Budapest—Hungary may remain a member of this kind of Warsaw Pact?

[Laszlo] It would be too early to reply now to this question. What is most important here, from our viewpoint, is that the Warsaw Pact should no longer restrict or violate Hungarian sovereignty from any viewpoint. We shall assert this, whether we remain members of some transformed political organization, or whether we do not. In a military sense, Hungary will definitely leave the Warsaw Pact. [end recording]

Horn Meets SPD Officials in Frankfurt

LD0906030490 Budapest MTI in English 2046 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Frankfurt am Main, June 8 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly and president of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), and Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the parliamentary group of the Polish Solidarity and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Sejm, attended the programme entitled 'Talks in Romerberg', in Frankfurt am Main on June 8.

Mr. Horn delivered a paper entitled 'A Look at Building the European House from Budapest'.

In Bonn and Frankfurt am Main, Mr. Horn met, on German initiative, Hans-Jochem Vogel, president of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and head of the SPD parliamentary group, Willy Brandt, honorary president and president of the Socialist International, and Horst Ehmke, deputy leader of the SPD parliamentary group.

Mr. Vogel said the SPD would shortly examine the conditions under which, and forms with which it can rebuild its relations towards the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Intelligence Official on Sentenced U.S. Spy

LD0806035390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Report on interview with Military Intelligence Office head Janos Kovacs by Gabor Kapuvari; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Gabor Kapuvari interviews Janos Kovacs, head of the military intelligence office. [passage omitted about Kovacs's name] The subject is the trial of U.S. sergeant [Clyde] Lee Conrad, who received a life sentence for spying for Hungary:

[Begin recording] [Kapuvari] [passage omitted] What is your view about this Conrad case?

[Kovacs] My view is that it is a regretful event. Every country carries out military intelligence activity; every country has successes and losses. We consider the Conrad affair as a case of the previous political, military leadership that did not sufficiently take the national interests of the country into account.

[Kapuvari] A leading West German government official stated we have received through Sergeant Conrad such significant information in connection with which the NATO either had to use nuclear weaponry prematurely or must give itself up.

[Kovacs] I consider the statement of the leading West German government official a bit exaggerated, because it is precisely in connecton with the Conrad case that it has become obvious both to us and even to the entire Warsaw Treaty that perhaps NATO has no military offensive plans. As a result the realistic analysis of the affair by the then political and military leadership has provided the possibility for to prevent driving the country into an armament (word as heard) exceeding the means and needs. [end recording]

Austrian Demands for Nagymaros Damages Rejected

AU0806114090 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Herbert Hutar report]

[Text] In mid-May, the Hungarians were given a list of Austria's demands for damages resulting from the construction stop of the Nagymaros power plant. The total demands amount to more than 3.8 billion schillings. The Austrian side, however, signalled readiness to negotiate. If a mutually acceptable solution were to be achieved soon—the limit was set at the end of June—the demands might be reduced to about 3 billion schillings.

The first reaction from Hungary: Even the reduced demands are too high, and a definite answer is hardly to be expected by 30 June. Laszlo Udvary, Hungarian government commissioner for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, said. A final decision has to be discussed with the responsible government committees and with the government, he noted. In addition, Hungary wants to cancel the framework contract with Yugoslavia for the joint construction of hydroelectric power plants on the Drava River. State Secretary in the Environment Ministry Mrs. Laszlo Taryan, stated that she wants to preserve the unique environment along the border river between Yugoslavia and Hungary by stopping the construction of power plants. The project envisaged the construction of four power plants; the contract was signed only two years ago. However, the electricity produced there would have gone to Yugoslavia during the first 18 to 20 years. Similar to Nagymaros, this would have been the payment for the contruction of the power plant.

While Hungary has crossed off the projects for the construction of hydroelectric power plants from the list of energy planning, the project of a large nuclear power plant is being examined sincerely. There is the offer of the Electricite de France company to build a 900-megawatt nuclear power plant within the framework of a $3 billion investment program. The French would provide advance financing for 70 percent of the project, but here, too, the Hungarians would have to pay back their debts in installments via the delivery of electricity. The second Hungarian nuclear power plant could be put into operation eight years after the start of construction. The first Hungarian nuclear power plant is about twice as big and covers one-third of the Hungarian demand for electricity.

Austria's offer to build a large gas-powered power plant in western Hungary, in the corner where Hungary, Austria, and Yugoslavia meet, is still disputed. Hungary is strongly dependent on Soviet imports in its electricity supply. The Soviets provide no less than one-quarter of the electricity needed in Hungary—and the last word has not yet been said about the Soviets' future ability or willingness to deliver, in particular in return for payment with scarce foreign currency. Nuclear power instead of hydrological power—this is a new discussion in Hungary's energy policy.

Soviet Gas Supply Situation, Prospects Reported

LD0806180490 Budapest MTI in English 1540 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Joszef Antall, Hungarian prime minister, and his Soviet opposite number, Nikolay Ryzhkov, have been holding talks in Moscow today about the Hungarian-Soviet gas agreement connected with building the Yamburg pipeline.

The Hungarian partner has asked for the agreement to be re-negotiated, for which purpose a Hungarian Government-level delegation would travel to the Soviet Union.

The agreement was signed in December, 1985, and concerns a Hungarian import of 37 billion cubic metres of Soviet natural gas.

The first half-a-billion cubic metres arrived last year.

Since that time, the quantity has increased year by year, and Hungary will get 2 billion cubic metres a year between 1992 and 1998.

From 1999 to 2008, Hungary will have the option on a further annual 2 billion cubic metres, but payment methods are still not clear.

This year, the Soviet Union is delivering 6.29 billion cubic metres of natural gas to Hungary, 1 billion of which is part of the Yamburg agreement.

Hungarian domestic production of natural gas is 5.4 billion cubic metres this year.

According to the inter-state agreement, Hngary gave the Soviet Union a credit worth 758 million roubles at an interest rate of 4 percent. This was later raised to 6 percent.

Under the interstate agreement, Hungary will have to deliver goods worth 309 million transferable roubles to the Soviet Union, equipment purchased in the West or convertible cash to the value of 180 million roubles, and construction and fitting work worth 260 million roubles to be performed at Tengiz, near the Caspian Sea.

Tengiz is the site where the Hungarians are assembling a production line, in two stages, which will be able to desulphurize and clean 3 million tonnes of crude oil a year.

The technology for the project is being delivered by the Lurgi-Litvin-Lavalin Consortium, a West German-French-Canadian JV [joint venture].

The Tengiz agreement, which was concluded in 1985 with the general public having no say at all, has been severely criticized ever since.

Owing to prices on the Soviet domestic market, the Tengiz construction project, which is very labour-intensive, is unprofitable for the Hungarian partner. (Over 170 forints have to be "invested" to produce 1 transferable rouble).

Nevertheless, considering that two-thirds of the construction project have by now been completed, economic experts from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the representatives of the new government, are also of the view that construction should be continued, and that Hungarian builders should not be withdrawn from the site, in spite of the strong opposition.

At the same time, the future of the whole of the agreement has not been settled regarding the switch-over to convertible accounting between Hungary and the Soviet Union.

It remains to be clarified whether the current interest rates are to be converted to dollars, and even more important, how much money Hungary needs to pay to get access to the quantities of natural gas stipulated in the agreement once the 758 million transferable roubles' worth of Hungarian credit has been paid off by Soviet gas deliveries (probably in 5-6 years' time).

According to ECONEWS information, although the new Hungarian Government is trying to aleviate Hungary's dependence on the Soviet Union in the energy field. It counts primarily on Soviet deliveries as far as natural gas is concerned.

Considering that there are no pipelines between Hungary and any other foreign country, any other solution would be extremely expensive.

At the same time, Hungary will have to boost natural gas purchases, since Hungarian resources are on the ebb, and production is falling.

Furthermore, according to preliminary figures, of the annual natural gas consumption of 15-16 billion cubic metres, 12 billion is expected to come from imports.

Of this quantity, Hungary has guarantees for only 2 billion cubic metres of natural gas a year, stipulated in the Yamburg agreement.

Polish Premier Mazowiecki Arrives in Budapest

LD0806135490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The Polish premier has arrived in Budapest. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is expected to hold talks today [8

June] with Premier Joszef Antall, Arpad Goncz, provisional president of the republic, and Gyorgy Szabad, acting president of the National Assembly.

Antall, Mazowiecki Begin Talks

LD0806193890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Joszef Laszlo reports now on the Budapest negotiations with the Polish premier:

[Laszlo] Starting in January [1991], Hungary and Poland will change over to convertible accounting in trade. While the two premiers, Joszef Antall and Tadeusz Mazowiecki had private discussions, the negotiations of the delegations were also taking place and this is where the agremeent was made. From the Polish side, the creation of a union for financial settlements with the participation of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia was urged, but Minister [for International Economic Relations] Bela Kadar thought the financial, and primarily credit, conditions for this did not exist.

Money was the subject of another negotiating point, which in spite of the changing of the system, is recurring. Many more forints are being requested for tourists from Poland than zloties for tourists from Hungary. It was also mentioned that we should not spoil each others' changes, when it comes to competition for foreign capital. Concerning the meeting of the two heads of government, both were arriving from Moscow from the Warsaw Pact summit and the guest and host have met. Instead of the usual ceremonial reception in front of the parliament building they greeted each other inside the building, because the downpour simply washed-out the ceremonial greeting.

Joszef Antall, whose father, during World War II as government deputy responsible for refugees, did a great deal for Polish refugees, had earlier talked much about the importance of bilateral relations. So now, during these discussions he again urged that a much more intensive cooperation is needed in every field than previously. The creation of a separate, new committee has also been considered. This would take stock of Hungarian-Polish relations, survey the whole position, to discover what does work and what does not. They were thinking primarily of the extension of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said on Polish Television that the question of national minorities was also discussed during the negotiations and the position of the Polish partner was that this must be solved on the basis of human rights in general. At the time of my report, Arpad Goncz, interim president of the republic, is receiving the Polish prime minister, and earlier Parliament Speaker Gyorgy Szabad met Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Tonight, Joszef Antall will give a gala dinner in honor of the Polish delegation.

MTI Reports on Visit

LD0806215290 Budapest MTI in English 2000 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland, opened private talks with his host, Hungarian Prime Minister Joszef Antall, immediately after his arrival in Budapest.

At talks which ran for more than two hours, the sides reviewed issues of direct concern to both countries, evaluated their visit to Moscow, and coordinated both their foreign political and home political conceptions.

Mr. Antall termed his talks held during his Moscow visit and the talks related to the Warsaw Treaty to be successful, as the Hungarian delegation clearly set forth its position; namely, that Hungary wishes to withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty not with a mere declaration and by taking unilateral steps, but rather by coordinating the positions at talks in the coming period.

The Hungarian side proposed to set up a committee which would re-examine the entire range of problems of the Warsaw Treaty, and an organization or a body could begin work from next January which would re-examine the whole of the Warsaw Treaty, including its character, function and role.

One should not leave out of consideration that the Vienna disarmament talks concern Hungary within the Warsaw Treaty, and no single country, including Hungary, can disrupt these talks, Mr. Antall said. Hungary also does not wish to disrupt the process of Soviet troops withdrawal. According to Mr. Antall's evaluation, the Soviet side, and Mikhail Gorbachev and Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, understood the Hungarian position.

At their private meeting, the Hungarian and Polish prime ministers agreed that both countries should maintain far more intensive political and economic relations with each other than so far.

Mr. Antall proposed to create a committee which would review the entire system of Polish-Hungarian relations, and would continuously coordinate the positions of the two countries, their steps in connections with West Europe, the Warsaw Treaty and the Soviet Union. The Polish side agreed with this proposal.

During the private meeting betweeen the prime ministers, Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, and Jerzy Osiatyinski, head of the Polish Planning Office, and their staff members held a plenary conference, at which the sides reviewed current issues of economic, financial and trade cooperation.

They agreed to switch over to accounting in convertible currency in bilateral trade for January 1, 1991, on world market prices. The Polish side raised the possibility of setting up a Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish accounting union. They were of the view the problems could be

bridged, mainly by utilizing the stabilization fund offered by the group of 24, set up to support the East European reform countries. The Hungarian side does not as yet hold this proposal to be timely.

The Polish negotiating partners also noted that ECU [European Currency Units] could be introduced as the unit of accounting, as the countries concerned wish to join the EEC.

They proposed to hold Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish coordination talks prior to the next session of the special committee dealing with the reorganization of the CMEA [CEMA].

Discussions were also held about financing tourism, and that demand for the forint is far higher in Poland, than for the zloty in Hungary. The Hungarian side would thus like Poland to balance the shortage with goods deliveries. At the same time, the Polish partner noted that Hungarian bauxite, aluminium and alumina deliveries have declined to Poland in the past months, and asked that this matter be settled as soon as possible. Mr. Mazowiecki met Gyorgy Szabad, acting speaker of Parliament, and also met Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

Mr. Szabad said the Hungarian actions are aimed at launching the Europeanization process also in the East. It is the vital interest of our countries that the changes take place not only in a narrow area, but also in all Europe, he said.

Regarding concrete legislative relations, Mr. Szabad proposed that these function on more than one level, instead of having a mere protocol character, and that they extend to the exchange of experts, and the creation of direct cooperation between the committees of the Hungarian National Assembly and the similar bodies of the Polish Sejm.

Mr. Goncz also encouraged to settle, intensify and further develop the relations between the two countries, on the basis of the principle of freedom of contact. He stressed that the two countries should seek the road leading to Europe not in a way that goes against one another, but by cooperating with each other, and coordinating their steps on the common road leading there. The Polish prime minister agreed with this.

Mr. Mazowiecki stressed he attaches major importance to his visit. He also proposed to set up a joint committee to review the system of Hungarian-Polish cooperation.

Following his talks, the Polish prime minister placed a wreath at the Memorial of Hungarian Heroes.

In the evening, Prime Minister Joszef Antall hosted a gala dinner in honour of Mr. Mazowiecki, in parliament building.

Antall: Visit Strengthens Reforms

LD0906012890 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8—Hungarian Premier Joszef Antall delivered a toast at dinner given in honour of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today in which he pointed out that both nations were willing that the Hungarian Republic and the Republic of Poland again belong to modern Europe.

Stressing that Premier Mazowiecki is the first among heads of governments of states of central and Eastern Europe who is paying a visit to Hungary, Antall pointed to the fact that the Polish example had strengthened the belief of Hungarian opposition in a success of its political action.

Having described political and economic transformations in his country, Antall said: There are few historical examples of unselfish cooperation between nations like ours. In this context he recalled the participation of thousands of young poles in the Hungarian uprising of 1848 and assistance granted to Polish refugees in Hungary in the years of World War Two.

The Hungarian premier recalled with satisfaction the activity of his father who—as plenipotentiary for refugees—had helped Poles taking refuge from Nazi occupation. At present, streets in Warsaw and other Polish towns are named after the Hungarian premier's father.

Next Antall focused on the state of Polish-Hungarian cooperation, stating: my government and I personally will spare no efforts in the interest of clearing our relations off barriers of bureaucracy and simplified schemes being burden of the past.

However, he did not hide that the situation of individual states of central and Eastern Europe differed as regards the process of joining Western Europe.

The existence of competition in this process is a natural phenomenon. We are convinced that one can avoid losses caused by competition through creating bilateral and multilateral mechanisms of adjusting interests, Antall said.

PAP Notes Meetings

LD0906061390 Warsaw PAP in English 2218 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Mazowiecki informed newsmen on the course of his meeting with Antall. He said that he had entered into a very good contact with the Hungarian premier at a meeting in Moscow on Thursday [8 June].

Today we had a long talk during which we reviewed problems of the political and socio-economic situation in Poland Hungary. We discussed all-European problems, the formation of a new European system, issues that are important for us in this context, he said.

Mazowiecki stated that discussion confirmed that both countries were willing to possibly quickly join the existing European organizations.

I spoke about issues connected with German unification. I think that our viewpoints are fully convergent in this respect. Premier Antall stressed that Hungary was also concerned about equilibrium in political and economic contacts in Europe, he continued.

We also touched upon problems related to national minorities. It is known that one third of Hungarians live outside their country. I underlined that Poland took a principled stand on this issue. The Polish Government wants to examine those issues through the prism of human rights, Mazowiecki stated.

Niezabitowska briefed newsmen on the course of plenary talks. She pointed to the perfect atmosphere of the discussion. The sides focused on four issues: switching to convertible currencies in mutual trade as of January 1, 1991, a concept of a currency union between Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, CMEA [CEMA] restructuring and trade turnover till the end of 1990.

Both sides are ready to switch to hard currency clearings without state intervention. The concept of the union is accepted, however, it requires finding funds and working out appropriate mechanisms. The Polish side continues to put forward a proposal that a representative of Hungary be chairman of the commission for CMEA [CEMA] restructuring. As for current trade, we voiced our concern over a drop in the volume of turnover. Hungarians confirmed that they would aim to increase it.

Mazowiecki met with acting president of the National Assembly Gyorgy Szabad. He was also received by acting Hungarian President Arpad Goncz.

Early in the evening the Polish delegation went to the Heroes' Square where Mazowiecki laid a wreath at the grave of unknown soldier.

The Polish premier received at his residence representative of the Union of Free Democrats, the biggest opposition party in the parliament, Laszlo Rajek.

Tonight Antall gave a reception in honour of Mazowiecki at which both premiers delivered toasts.

Mazowiecki Praises Friendship

LD0906180290 Warsaw PAP in English 0130 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8—Thanking for the sincere welcome in the "once again free Hungary," the Polish prime minister referred in his toast to centuries long Polish-Hungarian ties which sealed friendship between the two countries.

The premier also referred to events of the last decades stating: "Nothing can substitute for the lack of freedom and possibility of self-determination. Both your and our nation meant too much in history to agree with the loss of those values."

The Polish premier also spoke of "the return to Europe," but stressed that with it arises a vision of conflicts locked up by totalitarianism. In this light, the premier pointed to the role of Polish-Hungarian cooperation also from the pan-European point of view. "Poland and Hungary are going through a period of rapid transformations, a new alignment of forces in the world and in Europe is emerging under our eyes, while we are inheriting not very complementary economies. In this situation the phenomena of lasting friendship between Poles and Hungarians facilitates the overcoming of real or, more often, formal barriers as well as chances of cooperation in all spheres.

"A topical question is how to turn the potential of anti-totalitarian solidarity into a driving force of agreement and cooperation in our region," said Mazowiecki.

In this context, the Polish premier stressed the importance of coordination of activities in the economic, scientific and cultural fileds, indispensible for the return of both countries to Europe. "Almost everything has to be reviewed or changed, including the CMEA [CEMA], the Warsaw Treaty and ministerial agreements.

"The rapprochement of Central European countries, understood as an element of the process of integration of the whole of Europe, demands that spectacular verbal declarations be urgently replaced by day-to-today contacts between countries and societies."

"As the prime minister of the first, in decades, free government in a democratic Poland, I would like for my visit to become a beginning of a real renewal and animation of our relations. I trust that despite objective differences and difficulties, obligations stemming from history and appropriate interpretation of requirements of contemporary times will bring such rapprochement," said the premier in conclusion of his toast.

Mazowiecki Concludes Visit

LD0906171490 Budapest MTI in English 1530 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 9 (MTI)—On conclusion of his official visit on Friday and Saturday [8-9 June], Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland, left Budapest on Saturday.

The Polish politician was the guest of Prime Minister Joszef Antall.

During his visit here, the Polish prime minister held talks with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and exchanged views with representatives of the three parliamentary opposition parties—the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Federation of Young Democrats and the Hungarian Socialist Party—on the East European changes and the relevant role of Hungary and Poland.

Prior to the departure, the two heads of government gave an international press conference on Hungary's intention of withdrawing from the Warsaw treaty organization.

In connection with Hungary's relationship to the Warsaw treaty and its intention to leave the organization, Joszef Antall confirmed all pieces of information released on the subject in recent days.

Speaking about the Moscow talks, Antall said the great powers treated both the questions relating to the internal situation of the Soviet Union and European security with world political responsibility.

Accordingly, U.S. President George Bush held it important to inform the heads of government who participated in the Moscow talks in a detailed letter about his discussions with Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as about his approach to German unity and Lithuania. (In his letter, President Bush confirmed Joszef Antall's invitation to the United States.)

With regard to German unity, Antall stressed Hungary understood the stance of the Polish Government, and personally Tadeusz Mazowiecki, that Poland's frontiers and position were to be ensured on a conventional basis with Germany.

Concerning the Warsaw treaty, Mazowiecki said Poland agreed with the radical reform of the organization and the future collective security system. He also stressed that the Warsaw treaty no longer represents a possibility of intervention in the members' internal affairs and has to be maintained on a temporary basis until the European security system is set up, with members guaranteed full equality in all spheres, particularly the military.

The prime ministers pointed out their intention to coordinate the two countries' policies and foreign political moves.

Joint News Conference Reported

LD0906205790 Warsaw PAP in English 1925 GMT 9 Jun 90

[By PAP reporters Tadeusz Belerski and Michal Gluski]

[Text] Budapest, June 9—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki ended an official visit in Hungary today [9 June].

After talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Mazowiecki told newsmen that it was a good opportunity to exchange views, especially on all-European issues.

Our policy concerning Germany met with full understanding on the part of the Hungarian Government. We came to a common conclusion that we are willing to stimulate mutual contacts with a view to cooperating on the international arena, the Polish premier said.

He also met with representatives of two opposition parliamentary parties: The Union of Young Democrats and the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Next he met with representatives of Polonia. Some 6,000 Poles and people of Polish origin live in this country.

At the end of Mazowiecki's visit both premiers held a press conference. Mazowiecki regarded his stay in Budapest as fruitful. It should provide stimuli for development of Polish-Hungarian relations and the construction of a new European order, he said.

Poland is aware that it will be a neighbour of the United Germany. Therefore, it wants all issues to be fully settled in a treaty, he continued.

We have agreed that both countries will switch to settlements in convertible currencies as of next year. We discussed a concept of a payments union with the participation of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. We arrived at a conclusion that one should encourage economic cooperation. We accepted with satisfaction Premier Antall's proposal to set up an inter-government commission to review economic, cultural, scientific and technological contacts, Mazowiecki went on to say.

Joszef Antall stated that the two countries' political goals were analogous. He recalled that at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty in Moscow Hungary had voiced the intention to leave the alliance.

We will not stage Warsaw Treaty military exercises on the Hungarian territory neither will we participate in such exercises in other countries. We also ensure our Army's sovereignty through excluding it from the Warsaw Treaty command, he said.

In reference to German unification Antall stated that Poland's striving for guaranteeing its borders was understandable.

I am convinced that Poland and Germany will directly solve this problem. If a need arises, we may be mediators, he added.

Asked to comment on Hungary's decision on leaving the Warsaw Treaty, Mazowiecki said: In today's international situation the treaty does not pose a threat to member countries. Outside intervention is out of the question. As for Hungary's move, such decisions may be freely declared and will be respected by others. Poland considers the Warsaw Treaty to be a transitory formation.

In reply to the question whether he was going to support Lech Walesa in his bid for presidency, Mazowiecki said that it was not the right time to answer such a question.

Premiers Agree on Currency Accounting

LD1106135490 Budapest MTI in English 1248 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 11, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's Prime Minister Joszef Antall, and his Polish counterpart, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, reached agreement at their weekend talks in Budapest for prices in trade between the two countries to be pegged to those prevailing on the world market and mutual shipments to be accounted in convertible currency, both from January 1991.

However the Hungarians described as 'untimely' a proposal by the Polish delegation to establish a Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish payment union, with the help of a stabilization fund offered by the 24 developed countries participating in the phare program.

The Polish partners also proposed that the accounting unit between Hungary and Poland should be the ECU [European Currency Unit], as both countries are seeking eventual membership of the EC at a later date. In addition, the two countries, they suggest, should coordinate their efforts to receive Western capital rather than spoiling each other's chances by competing for the same funds.

At the same time they expressed their total confidence in the Hungarian president of the special committee charged with planning the restructuring of COMECON [CEMA] and proposed a Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish conference before the next session of the committee, scheduled for July.

Problems in trade were also mentioned, including the imbalance in Hungarian-Polish tourism, which causes excessive demand for Hungarian forints in Poland. Hungary maintains that the resultant deficit should be covered by shipments of Polish goods, while Poland complains of delays in Hungarian shipments of bauxite, alumina and aluminium over the last few months.

Ethnic Germans Criticize Land Issue Plans

LD0806205390 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 8 (MTI)—It would be a grave injustice for the Germans in Hungary in the property relations of land were to be restored according to the conditions in 1947. It was stressed at the session of the presidium of the Federation of Germans in Hungary, held on Friday. Also present at the session were members of parliament, and leaders of German unions.

It was stressed that the proposal of the Independent Smallholders Party on property reform, and the returning of properties, is considered unjust as the confiscation of property and assets belonging to the Germans in Hungary had already been completed by 1947. This was a collective punishment against those who professed German as their mother language, or who belonged to the German minority at the time of the 1941 census.

Goncz Appoints New State Secretaries

LD0606224990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] New administrative state secretaries have been appointed by interim head of state Arpad Goncz. Janos Martonyi was named state secretary of the Ministry of International Economic Relations, and Gyorgy Lorincz was appointed state secretary of the Ministry of Labor.

Council Relieves Deputy Defense Minister

LD0806005790 Budapest MTI in English 1847 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Budapest, June 7 (MTI)—The council of Ministers held a session on Thursday [7 June] in Budapest.

In the absence of Prime Minister Joszef Antall, the session was chaired by Minister of the Interior Balazs Horvath.

The Council of Ministers placed the State Population Registry Office under the supervision of the minister of the interior, and decided about several labour rights issues which concern Council officials.

The Council of Ministers relieved, with due recognition of his merits, Ferenc Szombathelyi, deputy minister of defence. On the proposal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the body appointed Istvan Lang as general secretary of the Academy, and Arpad Csurgay deputy general secretary.

Commentary Views U.S.-Soviet Summit

AU0706203990 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 5 Jun 90 pp 1,2

[Piotr Jen commentary: "A Long List of Agreements]

[Text] The Gorbachev-Bush summit only appeared to add something decidedly new to Soviet-U.S. relations. Following the three days of discussions between the two presidents one had the impression that it was the maintenance of these appearances which formed the main object of the exercise. For President Bush this summit was important because he still links Gorbachev with the hope of completing the dismantling of a system, which throughout the last decades threatened world, and especially European, security. For Gorbachev this summit was especially important for ascertaining true American foreign policy intentions, on which, in large measure, the possibility of accomplishing his course of reforming the Soviet Union is dependent.

One can, of course, consider it a sensation that Bush actually signed a trade treaty with the Soviet Union. Leaving aside the fact that this treaty will remain on paper until ratified by Congress, even the swiftest implementation of the treaty provisions will not benefit the Soviet Union all that much. The presence of the most-favored-nation clause will not change the structure of trade between the Soviet Union and the United States, nor will the American market become accessible to Soviet goods, other than raw materials and primary products. The current trade exchange on the order of $5 billion dollars annually will not change during the next few years, say the experts. Eventually, it might double by the end of the century, but this is not much when one considers the production potential of the two states.

In such conditions, all arguments about the role of trade exchanges strengthening mutual security seem, therefore, rather rhetorical. All the more so as certain political preconditions still exist, stated Bush, which make the implementation of the treaty dependent on Moscow's policy toward Lithuania, the other Baltic republics, and the matter of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. As regards the first issue, Gorbachev did not put forward any new propositions at the summit. It would have been surprising to expect him to announce in Washington the lifting of the economic blockade of Lithuania, or agree to the republic's secession. Only in the matter of Jewish emigration was there a clear understanding of the situation. The proof of this can be seen in Gorbachev's announcement—without any direct objection by Bush—of the possibility that this emigration might stop, if Israel's policy of resettling the emigres in the occupied territories continues.

If one wants to find a summit success then it is there for all to see in the declaration made by the two presidents. From this it appears that there is no impasse in the German issue. There are still significant divergences here, and Baker and Shevardnadze will have to work on these. It concerns the matter of Germany's membership in NATO. From the talks, it would seem that Moscow has abandoned its proposition that Germany can belong to NATO's political organization, but not its military organization, as in the case of France. It appears that American arguments stressing that in such a situation there would be a tendency in Germany to possess a strong army and nuclear weapons, were accepted by the Soviet side. However, the principal problem remains unsolved.

On the one hand Moscow sees the strong NATO structure, strengthened by the presence of a united Germany and American forces in Europe, as an element that will weaken the balance of forces and its own feelings of security, and it wishes to push the process of European security into the larger framework of the CSCE. In Washington, however, NATO and the presence of American marines is regarded as a factor that will stabilize the situation, especially during the period of great changes and the break up of the former socialist bloc.

The list of agreements that were signed in Washington is long, and runs from the statement expressing willingness to sign a treaty reducing strategic arms before the end of this year, to the agreement on aviation communication. One should remember, however, that a full implementation of these agreements depends on many unknowns. It is not just a matter of Gorbachev's own position, but of the future course of events in the Soviet Union.

Interior Ministry Denies GDR Spying Claims

LD0906210290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Several days ago we told you, ladies and gentlemen, about revelations in the West German daily DIE WELT concerning espionage activities by the GDR security service in Poland. Let us remind you that a high-ranking Stasi officer stated in an interview for DIE WELT that his service also recruited officers of the Polish security service on the basis of gentlemen's agreement commitments. He declared that Stasi eavesdropped not only on Solidarity as an organization but also on Lech Walesa and on leading figures of the Church. He said that Stasi, for the Polish security service, controlled the whole Solidarity structure in West Berlin, the FRG and Holland. We asked Colonel Wojciech Garstka, spokesman for the internal affairs minister, to comment:

[Begin Garstka recording] There was cooperation between the Polish Internal Affairs Ministry and the GDR State Security Ministry (MfS) in protecting their own state security by each of the sides. That formally came to an end this April, and in practical terms much earlier than that. There was a GDR mission in Poland, on a reciprocal basis, of course, consisting of a group of several GDR MfS officers.

However, the tales of its sensational successes that are being voiced by the GDR defector are hard to believe. We do not, for instance, confirm the claim that its

officers engaged in audio monitoring of anyone at all on Polish territory. That would have been technically and organizationally impossible for people with foreign passports.

Public speeches, by Lech Walesa, for instance, at rallies or his news conferences, or those by members of the Catholic Church hierarchy inside churches, might have been recorded, but that would have been all. Anyway, issues of monitoring were always very strictly and legally regulated in our country, and any violation of the Polish law would have been severely punished.

Officers of the secret services sometimes have to maintain contacts, equally with their partners and allies, as well as with their opponents. This takes place either under control, or forms a part of their official duties, and takes place with the full knowledge and agreement of their superiors, in accordance with particular plans and intentions, but always within the limits of official and state loyalty. Gentlemen's agreements do not enter into it.

In any case, no one should have any doubt that were these DIE WELT revelations true, they would never see the light of day. What are the DIE WELT authors after? We would surmise that it is simply a journalistic canard of the kind that normally hatch out for money and self-advertising, while the anonymous defector from the GDR either does not exist or, to put it mildly, embellishes the facts. Although we cannot rule out that someone wanted to cause confusion in Poland and to damage the standing of Polish counterintelligence. I would like us to bear in mind intentions of this kind whenever we come up against sensations reported in the Western press. [end recording]

Committee Completes Work on Cooperation With EC

LD0606164390 Warsaw PAP in English 1517 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jun—A special inter-ministerial committee has completed its three-month long work on a draft agreement on Poland's association with the European Community, Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk told the Sejm and Senate foreign affairs committees at a joint session today [6 June].

The parliamentarians examined Poland's contacts with European institutions which is one of the priorities of the Polish foreign policy. A new department has been created in the Polish Foreign Ministry to deal with this country's cooperation with the Council of Europe, the EC, the Nordic Council and institutions operating with the CSCE Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Poland's cooperation with the Council of Europe has been developing most successfully. This country has a status of a special guest at the Council and maintains lively contacts with the council's main bodies. Yet, Poland is vitally interested in the early admission to the Council. Certain requirements must be met to this end. For instance, some member-states of the Council of Europe insist on conducting in Poland free deocratic parliamentary elections before granting Poland a full-fledged member status.

At today's meeting the committee approved the candidature of professor Wladyslaw Bartoszewski for Polish ambassador to one of European countries. [not further specified]

Sejm Speaker on European Council, German Question

LD1006005390 Warsaw PAP in English 1728 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—Speaker of the Sejm (lower house of the Polish Parliament) Mikolaj Kozakiewicz returned to Warsaw from Brussels where he took part in a meeting of presidents of parliaments of the states members of the European Council and of Poland, the GDR and Hungary.

On arrival the speaker told newsmen that it was the first forum of the European Council attended by representatives of parliaments of central Europe. For the first time in the history of the European Council, the body was addressed by representatives of countries in which a democratic breakthrough has taken place.

Besides our speeches, we also answered to numerous questions. We were asked about the Warsaw Treaty, our plans, as well as about fears linked with the unification of Germany.

There were some difference as for the German question. I tried to convince my interlocutors, that it is unfair to make initial conditions, for example in respect to Poland and Hungary, before admitting them to the European Council, since the GDR will enter the Council on the "back of the FRG." Initial conditions do not embrace the GDR only because the FRG is already a member of the council, said Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Sejm Session Adopts Resolution on Germany

LD0806162890 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—The Polish Sejm here today adopted a resolution which says that the desire to establish a new German state, which is a natural right of the German nation, cannot be at variance with the interests of the states neighbouring on Germany and the entire Europe.

While rendering full support for the stand of the Polish Government as regards Poland's participation in the "2 plus 4" conference and striving to achieve the final recognition—by means of an international treaty—of the Polish western and northern frontier on the Odra, Nysa [Oder-Neisse] and the Baltic by all the participants in the

conference the Sejm asked the government to continue its efforts aimed to obtain from the Germans compensations for the Polish victims of World War Two.

Consignment of Drugs Donated to Lithuania

LD0906220590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Another consignment of drugs for Lithuania has crossed the Polish-Lithuanian border at Ogrodniki-Lazdijai. The gift, weighing a total of 1,200 kilograms, was donated by the people of Szczecin. Their collection was organized by the local Solidarity Committee.

Minister Swiecicki on Foreign Trade Plans

LD1006092390 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Poznan, June 9—In new economic conditions, the 62nd Poznan international fair is a good chance not only to increase Poland's turnover but also of capital cooperation, said Minister for Economic Relations with Abroad Marcin Swiecicki during a press conference held here today.

The minister informed journalists on preparations for the further liberalization of foreign trade. We plan to suspend duties on imports of raw materials and semi-products and in part for some machines and equipment, said Swiecicki.

The aim of these steps is to animate imports and the entire economy. During the first five months of this year we observed a quick increase of exports, especially to hard currency markets which gave Poland a favourable balance of trade with those countries (1.6 billion dollars). A slight increase of exports has taken place in trade with CMEA [CEMA] member states, said Swiecicki.

Jaruzelski To Visit Spain, Discuss Cooperation

LD0906065790 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—On June 11, Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski is starting an official state visit to Spain paid at the invitation from King Juan Carlos II.

This top-level visit—wrote PAP commentator Tadeusz Szkamruk—is a result of animated political and economic contacts maintained between Warsaw and Madrid in recent years. After a many-year long freeze bilateral relations have been unblocked in result of the 1985 meeting of the then Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski with Felipe Gonzales which took place in New York during the U.N. General Assembly's autumn session. The following years have witnessed animated contacts at different levels and were crowned with the first ever visit of the Spanish king to Poland in October 1989.

Spain is interested in the Polish stand on the issue of unification of Germany, and the situation in Eastern and Central Europe and the Soviet Union. On its part, the Spanish side will present its stand on the questions pertaining to the Mediterranean Basin and Latin America. On the other hand, Poland is interested in Spanish experience in democratization of life and economic solutions which ensured that country a firm position among the developed states.

It is expected that economic cooperation will be another important topic during the Polish visit. Polish-Spanish to-date cooperation is far from expectations and possibilities of the two sides. Trade with Spain accounts for a mere 2 per cent of the Polish foreign trade, and respective index for Spain is only 0.5 per cent.

The Polish president and representatives of Polish political life accompanying him will conduct talks in Madrid and after the conclusion of the official part of the visit they will go to Toledo and Barcelona.

Mazowiecki Returns From Visit to Hungary

LD0906193490 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 9: Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki returned to Warsaw from an official visit to Budapest today [9 June].

Speaking to journalists, Mazowiecki stressed that he discussed with Hungarian Prime Minister Joszef Antall the state of Polish-Hungarian relations and that it was decided to establish an intergovernmental commission to review all issues between the two countries. I think that this is the most important problem for the moment, said Mazowiecki.

During talks on pan-European relations, we continued talks started in moscow linked with changes in the Warsaw Treaty. We also exchanged views on the unification of Germany.

I had a possibility to present grounds of Poland's stand concerning the confirmation of Poland's border and regulating this problem through a treaty. The Hungarian side stressed Poland's stand on the issue of national minorities which is a very vital problem for Hungarians. I think that Poland's stand on this issue should be in tune with acts on human rights, said Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Stresses Friendship With Hungary

LD1006081790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Joszef Antall took part in a press conference in Budapest. Here is what Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in reference to traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] The basic question is how to translate that traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship

into concrete developments in Polish-Hungarian rapprochement. Today our governments and countries are in a new situation—they are building a new democratic order—and I think it is a very important thing for that democratic order in our countries to be based on solid foundations, which is important not only for our countries but for European order. [end recording]

Balcerowicz Discusses Economic Priorities

PM0806083490 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Jun 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by Cecilia Stego; place and date not given: ""There Were No Alternatives""]

[Text] Warsaw—When Poland's first non-Communist premier in 40 years rang Leszek Balcerowicz to ask whether he was interested in helping the new government, Balcerowicz thought that it was a case of a temporary job for an expert.

His suitcases stood packed in the hall. Balcerowicz was off to Britain for a lengthy lecture tour and therefore said "no." The following day, however, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was already back on the phone with a concrete offer for Balcerowicz to become finance minister and deputy premier in the historic government.

Balcerowicz unpacked his cases and decided to accept what at the time was joked about as the "world's least wanted" job. Poland had gotten its finance minister, but both the Poles and foreign observers in Warsaw furrowed their brows and asked: Who is Balcerowicz?

Since then a lot has happened. For eight months the new Polish government has been springing surprises and winning admiration. Today the name of Balcerowicz has spread throughout the world as the trade mark for a radical and courageous economic policy in an East Europe where the new governments are wrestling with the same problem—trying to make eggs out of an omelet.

Leszek Balcerowicz is well known as Poland's busiest man and he seldom has time to receive foreign journalists for interviews. But he and his closest aides describe how the Balcerowicz plan came into being, how last week's railroad strike could have overturned it, and what will happen next in Europe's largest experimental workshop for economic policy.

The clock is well past the hour for dinner in Central Europe, but in the large building which seems inspired by the esthetics of socialist realism and which is called the Prime Minister's Chancellery there are still lights on in many windows.

In the office of Deputy Premier Balcerowicz's closest aide something reminiscent of an endless relay race is going on as one visitor constantly replaces another.

Chance serves up a clear symbol. When it is my turn I will take over the "baton" from Jeffrey Sachs, the young Harvard professor who, many people say, was the principal brain behind the Polish Government's decision for radical reforms.

"Of course foreign expertise meant a lot, but the decisions to implement a policy of radical reform were Polish," Balcerowicz's aide told me.

"After his appointment, Balcerowicz had a week to sketch a crisis plan. The goal—a functioning market economy—was clear from the outset. The new government was definitely not interested in experiments along some 'third way' or in gradual reform of the socialist economy.

"The difficult decision was choosing where we should begin—with hyperinflation, which at the end of last year was at a level corresponding to an annual rate of 2,000 percent, or with institutional reforms such as privatization and land reforms?"

Balcerowicz chose inflation. In a few intense weeks, the plan was drafted and was quickly given the name of its hardworking architect.

The plan embraced two ambitions. By cutting the state budget, removing subsidies, and freezing wages the economy was to be stabilized. In addition a longer-term policy of change was to be begun by derestricting the prices of most goods, including the important energy prices, and devaluing the currency.

After swift consideration by the Sejm immediately before Christmas, Balcerowicz's 25-point program was launched 1 January.

People in government offices held their breath when prices rocketed and real incomes fell. Would the product of the drawing board work in reality? And would the Poles, known for their protests against every price rise, understand?

After five months the answer to the first question is undoubtedly "yes." Free pricing brought goods out onto the formerly half empty shelves in the stores. The black market money changers disappeared.

But, what was more important, after a while the level of prices stabilized and inflation was slowed down as early as March. Today it is a modest five percent.

Also, today Poland is able to show a surplus in the balance of trade and in the state budget—something that no one had expected.

But the government hardly had an opportunity to feel satisfaction over these successes before the other question made itself felt.

The Poles have naturally had to pay dearly for the economic clean-up. Real incomes have fallen by at least 40 percent, and for many people it is no help that goods

are now to be found in the shops. They command a price that goes far beyond the economic possibilities of the average Pole.

It is against this background that we must view the railroad strike which reached its height in the last week.

"We do not want to make things difficult for the government, but what can we do when we cannot provide for our families?" a genuinely sorry railroad worker asked on Polish television.

The situation cannot be summed up any more clearly. The Poles have demonstrated an unusually large degree of understanding for the harsh effects of the Balcerowicz plan, but many people are close to desperation.

However, it is too simple to see the railroad strike as an expression of human desperation. Behind the strike, there is also a feeling of impatience among the Poles.

The institutional reforms which are to transform the country take time and as yet things still look the way they did in the past. The old communists are still in charge of enterprises. Bureaucracy and string-pulling have not been replaced by newer, healthier practices. Politicians talk more about the enterprises that will have to be closed than about new ones which will be able to lift the country toward a new prosperity.

The Poles are simply a people without a vision.

Was Balcerowicz's decision to give priority to inflation over other—more obvious—reforms a mistake?

With that question in the back of my mind, I left the Premier's Chancellery.

The Finance Ministry—inspired even more by the esthetics of socialist realism, if that is possible, and Leszek Balcerowicz's second work place—was dominated the following morning by a debate typical of today's Poland.

The ministry's mail carrier had caught sight of a critical letter to the minister and was upset.

Soon secretaries, officials, and visitors were drawn into a discussion of the government's economic policy.

The noise level increased, the discussion seemed that it would never end, and it occurred to me that this debate is no different from the one probably taking place among the striking railroad workers.

The discussion was tense and was dominated by the realization that a great deal is at stake at present. It is not only a case of a strike—the future of an historic government is also at stake.

Once in the finance minister's room the atmosphere was very different. Here calm and purpose reigned. Polish volatility was replaced by something more reminiscent of German order and efficiency.

Finance Minister Balcerowicz had just been speaking to Premier Mazowiecki. In the present situation the government's work is directed totally toward trying to stop the strike, whose consequences are not difficult to predict. One strike can of course lead to more in a country where the vast majority of people are in difficulties. An extensive wave of strikes could force wage increases which would undermine the whole of Balcerowicz's anti-inflation policy.

"We are in a very critical phase," Balcerowicz said. "It would be easy to destroy what we have built up so far. It could be done in weeks."

The fact that his plan and his political future are at stake does not affect him at all:

"I have put forward a plan which I am convinced is what the country needs, but if the Poles want something else then I will accept that. For me power has never been an end in itself. I am in office here to implement a program. If it fails, I will resign."

I returned to the question of his priorities.

In the light of what you know today about the Poles' feeling that the work of reform is proceeding too slowly—a feeling that has been reinforced by critical remarks from Lech Walesa—do you still think that it was correct to give priority to combating inflation?

"Yes, I am convinced that it was correct. Without first bringing down inflation, other reforms would have been very difficult to implement.

"It is impossible to build a healthy market economy with hyperinflation, and many critics have not questioned this. Basically I also share their view that the work of reform must be accelerated. But I do not really see how we could have moved any faster. Overcoming inflation was our first objective. This we have now achieved. The fact that hopes for further reforms are rising can also be taken as confirmation of the fact that we have succeeded."

What do you say to those people who think that you have proceeded too harshly, who think that the Poles have had to pay too high a price for bringing down inflation?

"No one has succeeded in getting rid of hyperinflation using gradual measures. In practice we had no choice: Either we tackled inflation—and that had to be in this drastic way—or we would have had to live with it for a long time. We knew that people would have to pay a high price for the anti-inflation policy. That was why it was not an easy decision to take—but it was correct."

Leszek Balcerowicz's capacity for work and his purposefulness are bound to be documented by posterity. Despite the fact that the government's economic policy at the time of our meeting is being put to the decisive test, Balcerowicz is working systematically on the next thing on his agenda.

"The question of debt cancellation is of great interest to us," he said, commenting that the plan, which he proposed the day before, should be put to the Paris club later in the week.

"Without help from the West in this respect we will be in a bad way. All the Poles' sacrifices would go to pay for old sins, and the foreign investors that we need so much could be frightened off.

"The other major question we are working on at present is the plan for privatization, which my so-called critics are calling for. It is perhaps worth pointing out that in the current phase we are more dependent on parliament than on the work capacity of the Finance Ministry. But we are confident that the decisions will be made before the summer recess and that we will be able to begin the work of privatization in July."

So there is no suggestion of a vacation for Leszek Balcerowicz.

His aides, who have darker rings round their eyes than the minister himself has, told me that he has not had a complete day off since he began and that he spends at least 14 hours a day at work.

He shares this enormous work effort and his determination to achieve something new for Poland with the other Solidarity ministers, but his background is different.

Unlike Premier Mazowiecki—who has a long career behind him in the Catholic opposition movement—and other well known ministers, such as Labor Minister Jacek Kuron, Balcerowicz was never involved in the long and difficult years of opposition which preceded the Polish "revolution." On the contrary, he was a party member until 1981, when he left the party, however, in protest at General Jaruzelski's state of martial law.

Balcerowicz belongs to the intellectual elite which developed during the relatively widespread academic freedom which prevailed in Poland in the seventies. It was unique in East Europe, and it probably prepared the ground for the present situation, in which few people seem to have any difficulty in accepting a finance minister who was a communist party member.

It was at Warsaw's Institute for Central Planning and Statistics that Balcerowicz, the market economist, developed his view of the world and devoted himself to his studies of economic systems. Even today he is still a definite expert type who gathers around him large numbers of professional economists. But this does not prevent him from understanding where the decisive force is to be found in today's Poland

Asked what he wants most from the future, he said:

"Understanding and patience on the part of the Poles, and then, activity. There are things that the government cannot arrange in a liberal economy—economic activity is the most important. I want many Poles to go all the way and become entrepreneurs. I want many to show themselves to be willing to help in new and old enterprises when the Polish economy is being rebuilt."

Despite eight tiring months, Balcerowicz himself want to continue as finance minister as long as the government is on the right track.

It is becoming clear to growing numbers of people that the responsibility for Poland's economic policies is in the hands of a Polish middle distance running champion. Fortunately, Putting the Polish economy on its feet is not a job for a sprinter or a marathon runner.

Addresses Sejm on Economic Policy

LD0806103290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1512 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Speech by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpts] Madame Speaker! May it please the House! I would like to say first and foremost that the government is in the process of drawing up a fuller report on the state of implementation of the economic program and also on the planned steps within the framework of that program. It intended to present this to the House at a slightly later date. Today, however, after a request expressed by the House, I'd like to present a preliminary report, stressing that the economic program, both its implementation up to now and the future plans, was the subject of debate at the last meeting of the Council of Ministers. These deliberations have not yet been closed. Certain questions still have to be resolved and in view of that I'd like to stress that what I am going to say is preliminary, on some points at least. This applies particularly to detailed issues. However, I would say that it does not apply to certain fundamental rules, defining procedure within the framework of the economic program for the future. So, please permit me to begin with the general part and please permit me to go back to September. [passage omitted]

To conclude, please permit me to sum up. I would like to repeat that the further actions which the government plans are to be subordinated to these two guidelines: speeding up the changes in the economic structure, so that it is decidedly more efficient, and not making any fundamental changes in macroeconomic policy, because we think that a rapid increase in the amounts of money flowing into that economy would lead to an ad hoc increase in prices, rather than in production. What, then, are the fundamental blocs of actions on which the government will be concentrating, where actions are already advanced in part? First, these are actions which are to force the hitherto too passive attitude of state enterprises and other units of the socialized economy, to cause a (?reduction in the wait-and-see policy), the attitude of hope that the government's macroeconomic policy will be erased, so that it will be possible to avoid difficult (?adaptations). The first thing is to stimulate competition, by the liberalization of imports I spoke off, and also by a stronger and quicker demonopolization of

strongly concentrated sectors, and by counteracting monopolistic practices. The second thing is restructuring, which is to [words indistinct]. This is a very important bloc of actions which we want to speed up.

The second issue is the various institutional reforms, which definitely include privatization, of course. I'd like to repeat here my hope, expressed earlier, that we will quickly obtain the legal bases to begin this on a broader scale. This also includes streamlining of the banking system, very important for harmonious financial cooperation between enterprises. We also ascribe an important role to liberalization of the regulations linked with foreign investments, about which I spoke previously.

The third element, which we will be stressing, is support for new enterprises by developing advice services, by maintaining recently expanded fiscal incentives, and also by creating new possibilities of access to credit for people who want to take the risk of running their own business.

Finally and fourth, the government intends to make an attempt to increase expenditure on certain sectors within the budget framework, on sectors which are important for social reasons, (?although at the same time there exists) a great danger that increased expenditure will stimulate prices and not production. I am thinking here of housing construction above all. The proviso is that what, whether, and to what extent this kind of important operation is possible will depend on solutions in other sectors, including, as I said, on economic solutions in the mining industry. Thank you for your attention.

Further on Policy Address

LD0806101990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Today the Sejm has been in session. Over to Stanislawa Stec:

[Stec] The Sejm passed amendments to the law on enterprise welfare and housing funds, treating it, however, as a document of a temporary character until a concept to solve these matters in market conditions appears. Also, the law on agricultural market agency became legally binding. On the other hand, the Sejm rejected the draft law on awarding maintenance payments. The deputies did not like the style of this document, the manner of awarding maintenance paayments infringing—as they saw it—the principles of openness and justice.

But, the most important, albeit an additional, item on today's agenda was the address by Leszek Balcerowicz, the deputy premier. It was, as it were, forced by the deputies who demanded explanations on the government's economic policy. And they got them.

[Begin Balcerowicz recording] First, we have achieved a situation whereby practically all the products and services come under the market mechanism. We know that they are not always ideal markets, that there are many monopolies here, but please note that in the meantime a very clear liberalization of foreign trade has been achieved, which has introduced a factor of broadening competition into this economy. The introduction of the convertibility of the zloty at a unified and stable exchange rate—and there is every premise to state that this exchange rate can be stable—served this above all. We have achieved, I think, considerable progress as regards the liquidation of national monopolies, especially in the food, meat, sugar industries, and so on. The budget system has been separated from the central bank, thus breaking the practice of an automatic financing of the budget by the bank. I would not like to go on like this for too long, but I state that in our economy substantial institutional changes have taken place, although the majority of different changes is still ahead of us. I state that we now have absolute certainty that inflation has been totally stamped out. We all know that the implementation of this program caused serious social costs. At least three of them deserve attention.

First, real unemployment has appeared. I would like to add that we by no means belittle this phenomenon. We know how painful it is for those affected by it, but we remember that this is an inseparable part of the economy we want to have, that is, the market economy. We cannot have one without the other.

The second social cost was a fall in real pay as well as in family incomes and we know that it was a serious cost which we do not belittle at all.

And finally, the third cost, perhaps the most important one: a fall in production. Here I would like to draw your attention, without belittling this phenomenon, that the often quoted figure of 30 percent is not a representative figure. It is a figure which exaggerates the magnitude of the decline in economic activity. The government, however, realizes that this is the most important problem and the question arises how this should be overcome. According to us, and here I am expressing the government's opinion, one guideline should direct us. And so, striving to overcome the probems which are the effects, the implacable side effects, of the favorable economic results which have so far been achieved in the economic program, we must not wreck those results.

The main solution is the speeding up of changes in the structure of the economy in a [word indistinct] sense of this word, in the institutional structures, ownership transformations, and restructured state enterprises, increasing the participation of small enterprises, thus making the structures on the part of the production [words indistinct] to operate smoothly and to react better to an indispensable and difficult macroeconomic policy. [end recording]

Summarizes Program on TV

LD0806120990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1758 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Speech by Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, at the Warsaw television studio—live]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The new economic system which the government, with the approval of the Sejm and all important organizations and institutions has been conducting since 1 January of this year, will soon have been in operation for six months. It is the right time to look back and to look into the future. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government took over a country in a state of bankruptcy. We began the year by clearing up the rubble, which the Polish economy had become after decades of application of ideological concepts which bent facts into concocted theories. We had to start with one of the highest rates of inflation in the world, with colossal debts, dilapidated factories, disorganized commerce, humiliating lines for everything. That was the starting point. It must not be forgotten.

The drafting and immediate introduction of a program of fundamental reforms was a condition for Poland's survival as a European state. Society expected this of the government. The world expected it of Poland. Such a program was drawn up and we began to apply it. We had no good models. Foreign experiences were all only of limited usefulness. Nobody in the world up to now had transferred from a command economy, which ignored the laws of economics, to a market economy. We decided to build a market economy in Poland, not for doctrinal reasons—we have said goodbye to those for ever, I hope—but because no one has yet invented a more efficient one. We adopted a strategy whose first and most important point was to stifle hyperinflation. We had to do that at once and pay a great social price. Hyperflation is the worst sickness that can afflict a country. It rules out any kind of sensible management and destroys families' years of saving, causing social bonds to break, tension and conflict.

Society invested its trust in us. How did we use it? We throttled hyperinflation. It was 78 percent in January. The rate of inflation has now fallen to several percent a month. The stifling of inflation was accompanied by a visible improvement in the market situation. Acute shortages disappeared. The lines, which for many years were an inherent feature of the Polish landscape, disappeared. The way in which Polish shops are stocked takes other inhabitants of Central and East Europe by surprise, whom until recently Poles envied for their full shelves and [word indistinct]. Let us also note other results which are not directly felt by all of us yet, but which lay the foundations for a new system. Above all, thanks to the smashing of various monopolies and the freeing of foreign trade from state shackles, conditions have been created for competition. The distribution of goods and services has been totally eliminated. The printing of paper money has ceased. The so-called small privatization has begun.

These favorable changes, and in particular the overcoming of inflation, had their price. Industrial production fell, peoples' incomes fell, real unemployment appeared. These costs are serious. However, these costs could not be avoided, if we take into account the state of the economy, which we inherited, and in particular the level of inflation. We understand that people are tired, that there is a mood of despondency, that people are anxious for improvement, today. However, these phenomenon delay improvement. The same applies to the life of society as to the life of the individual. Self-confidence and faith in one's success helps to bring it about, while lack of confidence and pessimism create difficulties and increase the tiredness felt at the drawn-out effort. I wish to emphasize strongly that the main danger, the threat of complete economic disintegration as a result of hyperinflation, has been removed.

What remains to be done? Above all, we must work in such a way so that, in the process of solving problems, we do not lose those things which we have already achieved. The main problem is the fall in production. Enterprises have suddenly found themselves in new and difficult conditions, in which it is much more difficult to sell. Admittedly, for the first time in years, in decades, they do not have problems in purchasing materials for production.

But they have not yet learned to manufacture cheaper and better, and not to win a customer [as heard]. Recession has mercilessly uncovered notorious weaknesses in our economy, and revealed the new ones. When there are difficulties, there exists a temptation for easy solutions. Essential loosening of restrictions would be such a solution, in the hope that fast increase in the money supply to the economy in the form of pay rises, increased budget expenditure, and artificially kept low-cost credit, would lead to a rapid increase in production.

Unfortunately, however, our economy does not react in such a way to money impulses. Although much has changed in it, its structure, however, has not been fully transformed. Injecting huge amounts of additional money into the economy would create the danger, above all, of price rises and not the increase in production. This would push us back to the starting point, to last year's situation when pay continued to chase prices, production decreased, and the market was devastated.

That is why we have to follow the difficult path, the path to speed up changes in the fundamental characteristics of our economy so that it works better, so that production may be increased, because people will be able and will want to buy goods which are better and whose prices are stable.

The government has begun the implementation of many such moves; others will be introduced soon. I would like to tell you about some of them.

First, we are introducing and we will be speeding up steps which urge enterprises to change their behavior. Their first reaction was passive. Most of them decided to withdraw and wait. That is why we are and will be creating conditions for greater competition. Here, the liquidation of state monopolies as well as allowing a stronger competition from the imports have great significance. Restructuring will also serve to change the behavior of enterprises. Weak enterprises will be subjected to enforced improvement, and those which have no hopes for continued improvement will have to be liquidated. Their resources and their workers will be able to find better employment elsewhere.

Second, we will support new enterprises, create job opportunities for those who lose their employment on chronically inefficient giants. We are setting up a network of information and advice centers for new entrepreneurs. We are preparing special credits. We are setting up a bank which is to give credits to those of the unemployed who decide to become self-employed. We have made the decision to give tax relief to new firms.

Third, we want a fundamental acceleration in great institutional changes. Privatization is a fundamental issue here. We are creating the framework of a capital market. We are speeding up changes in the banking system. We are preparing conditions to attract serious foreign capital. We are keeping consistently to the main assumptions of the economic program, for we know how dearly we would all pay if they were violated. The government does, however, react to changing circumstances and takes steps which do not break the principles of the program, adjustment steps. One of these was to create fixed interest rate credits for agriculture; another was to cut customs duties on many articles, including in particular means of production for agriculture. The government also allocated additional means for disabled cooperatives.

We are now preparing a draft of budget reshuffles. They will enable us to obtain additional means, among other things, for housing construction. The possibility of introducing this draft depends, however, on keeping other budget expenditures within the planned limits. This applies in particular to mining subsidies.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know that two social issues give rise to much emotion and fear: unemployment and housing. Unfortunately, unemployment is inevitable in conditions of a market economy. We are entering a system which reveals economic truth, that is, it changes concealed into open unemployment. The government is not watching this idly, however. Our main guideline is that a period of unemployment should be as short as possible. With this in view, the Labor and Social Policy Ministry is to create a system which will enable the largest possible number of people losing work to get jobs in other sectors. This also applies to the taking up of independent economic activity.

Regarding housing, we have two directions of activity: current and long-term. As I have already mentioned, we intend to allocate part of the budgeted resources for housing construction. However, this cannot in any way substitute deep transformations in the system of construction, transformations which will result in more apartments of higher standard and at lower cost being built. In this sphere of the economy, the faults of the previous structure, the deadwood of past decades, trouble us in a particularly glaring way.

I would like for a moment to concentrate on two important issues. One of the conditions for our success is foreign cooperation. We must make use of foreign capital to invigorate structural changes, to invigorate the whole Polish economy. However, the key question here remains the $40 billion Polish debt. We put forward an initiative for the substantial reduction of our debt. We tell our creditors that the burden of repaying the whole debt would make the restructuring and economic development of Poland impossible. Meanwhile, an economically strong, democratic, and stable Poland is necessary not only for us, but for Europe. We also say the effects of the work and sacrifice of Polish society ought to remain in Poland. Substantive talks on the reduction of debts make the favorable progress of Polish transformations possible. I believe that if we maintain consistency in the further implementation of our program in the coming months, the chances of a successful solution of this difficult matter will grow.

And finally, privatization, a fundamental issue, which will decide the future of the economy. Changes in the structure of ownership are a fundamental operation, permanently changing the country's economic system. We want to bring about a situation whereby everything will have its owner. The sad experiences of past years have taught us that things which belong to no one work badly and deteriorate.

Privatization does not mean that rapacious 19th-century capitalism is coming to Poland. The silver lining in our economic adversity is that we are joining the developed world, now when we can avoid expensive trial error, when ready-made, tried, and tested solutions are there. The Polish economic model will take from abroad what is best, enriching those solutions with ideas of its own. We want every Pole to be an active participant in the ownership transformations, to know that they are not happening over his head, in the name of some theoretical assumptions, but that he himself is creating the new reality, in his own and Poland's interest. We are speeding up the work in this field. We hope the Sejm will pass in the immediate future the acts which will enable this great restructuring to begin, with full steam ahead.

Concluding, I would like to say that we have to prepare our economy for the best possible entry into 1991. We have to hurry. Starting in January, the conditions of cooperation with both the Soviet Union and the GDR will change. The more problems we solve now, the better we will be able to cope with external difficulties.

Ladies and gentlemen, the undertaking which I have described in a nutshell will take our economy on to the road of long-term improvement. I would, however, like to say that an improvement in the standard of living is to be expected above all by the employees of those enterprises that are able to operate in new, difficult conditions and also by those who take the risk of personal economic activity.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is hard to overcome the years of apathetic stagnation, but we have to do it as quickly as possible. We have to believe in ourselves and our own strength. I appeal particularly to young people and enterprising people of whatever age. For years, the only chances to make money were outside Poland. We have them here at home today. Your energy is needed here. Our country is at a historic turning point. In a Europe which is organizing itself anew, the extent and quality of our state sovereignty will depend on the country's economic strength. The Army used to decide on it. Today, it is the economy that decides.

Let us remember that in carrying the burden of the renewal of the Polish economy we are doing this so that we can live better, live with dignity, and ensure prestige and international respect for Poland. It is very difficult for all of us, but I strongly believe that we will meet this challenge. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Official Outlines Medium-Term Agrarian Policy

PM0706101590 Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 2 Jun 90 p 22

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Stelmach, under secretary of state at the Agriculture Ministry, by Bjorn Age Mossin; place and date not given: "'We Are Seeing Results'"]

[Text] "Poland is into its first year with a market economy. We have already seen results for both producers and consumers. But we are still a long way from achieving satisfactory conditions. Right up to January this year farmers were used to centrally controlled production, and this represents a psychological barrier," Mieczyslaw Stelmach, Polish Agriculture Ministry under secretary of state, told ARBEIDERBLADET.

Now it is the Polish farmers themselves who decide what is to be produced, on the basis of market needs. It will probably take a few years before the production of individual agricultural products is tailored to market demand.

The introduction of a market economy is hitting farmers harder than other professional groups. The prices of production equipment, fodder, and seed corn have risen dramatically, and loans have become more expensive. At the same time their income is falling because of turnover problems. This trend does not encourage farmers to cultivate new products.

"An important objective of our agricultural policy is to influence developments in the direction of medium-sized farms," Stelmach told ARBEIDERBLADET. "The 2.7 million privately owned farms cover 75 percent of the cultivated land in the country, but their average size is only 12.5 acres. Some 30 percent of those in work in Poland work in agriculture. The government is giving a high priority to finding jobs in their home areas for the farmers hit by bankruptcy."

For a family farm to be run at a profit it should be 25 to 372.5 acres in size, depending on the quality of the land. With the aid of better pension arrangements and the establishment of alternative jobs the authorities are hoping that small farmers will be willing to sell land, so that the smallest farms can be merged into larger units. Traditionally Polish smallholders have wanted to keep their land as security against famine, even though they have other jobs on the side.

On the other hand there are state-run cooperatives of up to 500,000 acres. Stelmach expects such farms to become bankrupt fairly rapidly, since their enormous subsidies have been terminated. The aim is for them to be divided up into medium-sized farms which will be run by private cooperatives, joint-stock companies, and private farmers.

Today total agricultural subsidies amount to 20 percent of Poland's national budget. Under the communist regime the percentage was much higher. Today subsidies are being used to support measures promoting the restructuring of the agricultural sector.

"We are very interested in cooperation with Norway, both in the field of training for Polish agriculture students and in the form of Norwegian investment in Polish agriculture and food production. We already have projects under way in which both Denmark and the Netherlands are participating—projects that are partly financed by the World Bank. Poland has no restrictions on foreign investment or the repatriation of capital," Under Secretary Mieczyslaw Stelmach told ARBEIDERBLADET.

Michnik, Hall on Politics, Reform

AU0806115090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Jun 90 pp 4, 5

[Magda Papuzinska report: "Poland—Europe's Mexico?"]

[Text] What role do the new political parties perform? What is "Solidarity?" Will the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border become a European Rio Grande? What dangers would the collapse of the economic program entail? These questions are answered by Aleksander Hall and Adam Michnik.

Comparisons between the countries of East Europe and those of Latin America were the subject of an international seminar held in Pultusk from 29 May through 1

June, which was organized by a group of Polish scholars, the editorial board of ESTUDIOS LATINOAMERICANOS, and the Stefan Batory Foundation. The conference was attended by very few visitors from South America, because one of the similarities between our regions is a shortage of money for travel. It was, however, attended by scholars from West Europe and the United States. In addition to the program of academic papers, the organizers arranged a meeting with Minister Aleksander Hall and Adam Michnik, the Sejm deputy, who were to provide the foreign visitors with more information about Poland's problems. Excerpts from the discussion appear below. The statements are unauthorized.

Comments on the Elections

[Michnik] "The crushing victory won by "Solidarity" list candidates is proof that Polish public opinion had not found another political force that it could trust. That was a success for us. The low turn-out was an expression of freedom, but it was also a warning. In addition, more than half of society did not deem it right to support the government and the arrangement that it had proposed. If the railroad workers strikes—wildcat strikes—were the first vote of no confidence for 'Solidarity,' then the low turnout was a vote of no confidence for the government."

[Hall] "I expected a markedly higher turnout. Apathy has spread dangerously in public life, and it would be unwise to consider this to be something natural.

"The elections have shown that there are five groupings that matter in Poland. First, the 'Solidarity' citizens committee, which does not have the form of a political party. Then there is nothing for a long, long way, until you get to the Polish Peasant Party—a distinctly class-based, peasant group. It sees itself in the countryside as a union between the old United Peasant Party and new forces. Then there are: the Christian-National Union—a conservative-Catholic party that is seeking to politicize a society that is strongly heterogeneous, ideologically; the Social Democratic Party of the Polish Republic—the legacy of the previous system; and the Confederation for an Independent Poland—a party that uses independence slogans and backs a program of settling scores with what remains of the old system."

"Solidarity" and the Government Program of Tightening One's Belt

[Hall] "'Solidarity' is definitely standing at a crossroads. Until now, the prevailing feeling was one of responsibility for the entire country, and "Solidarity" gave its support to the government on fundamental issues."

[Michnik] "The opponents of 'Solidarity' say that it is the union that supports a policy of tightening one's belt. On the other hand, supporters say that 'Solidarity' supports a program for returning to a normal market economy. We first have to have a market economy before workers can be saved from it.

"Today those who are attacking the government's policy from the trade union position are just indulging in masquerades. They are not defending the workers. They simply have opposition aims, with respect to the government. Miodowicz and Jurczyk are in agreement that the government has enough money to raise wages, but they do not reveal how they know that. Such acts of faith are fine in church, but in politics they are demagogy."

The "Centrist" Agreement

[Michnik] "It really makes me sad to start commenting on this creation. It seems to me that its form is unclear and that its leaders' goals are vague. I would not be able to describe the group's political program. I agree that it will be difficult to maintain 'Solidarity's' unity, but I am not thinking of setting up a rival party. Poland needs a camp for pluralism, democracy and reason; a camp that will take account of the need for a period of transition from totalitarianism to democracy; a camp that will want to support the policies of the Mazowiecki government, and will be a real center, which makes reference to both the left and the right (in a Western sense, because these concepts do not mean anything in Polish). It will be a camp that will run in future elections and will win."

The Old Structures and the New Authorities

[Hall] "Although we did not have sovereignty, we are in the fortunate position of nevertheless having had a state. Now that the super-government, the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, has disappeared and parliament has been made to correspond to reality, there is no obstacle to using existing structures in a normal way. Of course, the Internal Affairs Ministry is in the midst of thorough reform, and the political administration, an instrument of indoctrination has disappeared in the National Defense Ministry. Local self-government—an entirely new phenomenon—has been established. The main components of the old ideological order have been dismantled, but certain burdensome features undoubtedly still exist."

Intellectuals in Political Life—A Craving for Power or the Conscience of the Nation

[Michnik] "Intellectuals articulate the needs of a country and are exceptionally sensitive to the stench of communist dictatorship; of any kind of dictatorship. It is not surprising that they get involved in political life. It is natural for this to happen in all societies that are emerging from communism. Intellectuals provide inspiration, but this does not mean that they make the decisions. It is the nation that decides."

Capitalists and Capitalism

[Hall] "The stratum of the medium-sized business man is either completely nonexistent or very small in Poland. The reforms that are being implemented are intended to make it larger. This is linked to a difficult and painful issue. This stratum includes people whose social and material status was a result of their ties to the old

nomenklatura. This strikes at people's feeling of justice, especially of those people who have to struggle daily with the difficulties of getting through the reform. The government does not want to and cannot expropriate this stratum of people who grew rich under the old system. Crimes will be investigated and action will be taken, but one cannot run them down sweepingly and deprive all directors and presidents of their assets."

[Michnik] "I hear the words capitalism and socialism, and I get the impression that I am in a linguistic trap. These linguistic categories seem to be useless in Poland. Let us keep to the idea of the market. Do we want it or not? State, private and cooperative enterprises all have equal rights in the marketplace. Those that manage to survive will remain. The competition of the marketplace is the only yardstick for determining whether cooperative ownership is better than private ownership or not."

Poland-Lithuania

[Hall] "Every nation has the right of self-determination. The Polish Government, parliament, 'Solidarity,' and society have demonstrated that this is their attitude. However, we would prefer the emancipation of the peoples of the Soviet Union to be a safe process that will be carried out by way of dialogue."

[Michnik] "Let us imagine a large prison. The prisoners in one of the cells have dug a tunnel to get to freedom. However, once they leave the prison through the tunnel, the tunnel will collapse and kill everybody else. This was the warning that the leaders of the Russian democratic movement sent to the leaders of Lithuania. It was not about wanting to get out, but about failing to take note of the consequences. The Poles have gone further in supporting Lithuania than any other nation. However, we cannot behave as if we had more weapons than anybody else. Today, we Poles will not win a war against Russia, and it is not worth starting a war when defeat is a foregone conclusion."

Poland-Europe

[Hall] "The situation in Europe as a whole and the elimination of old structures will to a large extent determine whether the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border does not become a new Berlin wall. Polish foreign policy, the policy of a sovereign state, is geared toward this. A sovereign Poland will not take on the role of front-line state. A danger that is much more real is that the border will become a European Rio Grande, a border between different levels of development, like the border between the United States and Mexico. However, the changes that we are introducing in our country at great social expense are the price that we have to pay to prevent this from happening. A Rio Grande would be humiliating both for us and for the West."

[Michnik] "It worries me that my views coincide with what the minister has said. I am also afraid that the Oder-Neisse may become a Rio Grande. Mexico's fate should serve as warning for Poland: It shows how a democratic party can turn into what is actually a monopoly party.

"Relations with Germany are of key importance for Poland. I believe that the Oder-Neisse will not become a Rio Grande, but a river that will unite peoples. (Professor Jan Kieniewicz laughs about what I said, but two years ago, when I told him that communism is finished, he laughed even louder)."

Dangers

[Hall] "Nothing is certain forever, and nowhere does it say that Poland has to be a democracy. One can imagine the economic program ending in a fiasco. If this attempt fails, what will emerge is a trend toward putting things right by using force. However, this should mobilize the supporters of democracy even more. One cannot rest on one's laurels, and I am an optimist, nevertheless."

[Michnik] "We are condemned to optimism. I see the main danger lying in a combination of populism and chauvinism. In this region, it is a mixture that has traditionally produced fascism. I do not think that we will be faced with the threat of fascism, but I can imagine a Polish version of Peronism. If the political and economic changes do not succeed, there will be chaos. Then there will be calls for a strong man. The strong man will appear, and there will be post-communist Peronism. I believe that we have to stop this from happening. The idea of curbing the power of government is deeply ingrained in the Polish tradition; it is the result of the influence of the church over many centuries. I think that the Poles will be able to resist this danger thanks to Catholicism."

Sejm Session Outlines Border Protection Law

LD0806175390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Speech by Zbigniew Pudysz, under secretary of state in the Internal Affairs Ministry, at the Sejm session in Warsaw—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. Speaker, May it please the House. On the authorization of the Council of Ministers, I have the honour to present to the esteemed chamber the draft law on the protection of state borders. The Polish Republic aims consistently in the direction of democratizating state life and applying the rules and structures seen in the developed European states. The draft law on the protection of the state frontiers, following the laws on the police, on the office for state protection and the office of the Internal affairs Minister, consititues the next step in the direction of [finding] a new place for the Internal Affairs Ministry within the current structure of our state. [passage omitted saying the new draft law aims to fully protect the state frontier while also respecting Poland's international agreements, including those protecting civic rights]

Regarding the legal position currently in force, the powers of state frontier protection bodies, particularly those onerous to citizens, are to be considerably restricted, in accordance with today's needs. The draft law preserves indispensible powers whose aim is the effective protection of state frontiers, including powers allowing state border guard functionaries to conduct preparatory activity in cases of crimes against the inviolability of the frontier. The draft law anticipates preserving only a 15 meter wide border strip of land, and a frontier zone which, only in justified cases, will exceed a width of two kilometers from the state border line, to a maximum of six [meters], while at the same time, the previous 30 km wide frontier strip is to be relinquished. This 30 meter wide strip currently encompasses as many as 22 border voivodships, and one third of state territory. This signifies a considerable restriction in the territorial reach of frontier guard operations. I would also like to emphasize that the draft law does not anticipate the onerous duty on the part of the public to acquire permission for temporary or permanent stay in the border zone. This demand has also been made by deputies of the esteemed chamber. There was also a written question on this subject.

The draft also defines the principles for establishing border land, sea and air crossings. It is understandable that the draft law will define the duties of persons crossing the border, and the powers of border guards in this sphere. They give a legal basis for personal searches, as well as for the inspection of vehicles and luggage, which previously took place on the basis of regulations which were not reinforced by documents of legislative status. We feel that these operations are so important that they ought to be contained in a law, and not in higher status legal documents. It should also be stressed that a personal search may also take place at such time when circumstances justifying the suspicion that a crime has been committed exist. It is also indispensible that these rules be maintained on account of the safety of people crossing the border. This also concerns the inspection of cargo in ports, at railway stations and in the means of transport. The law also creates a legal basis for actions against terrorism, particularly regarding international air transport. I am talking here about the problem of air piracy.

I would further like to stress that the draft law also introduces significant restrictions in relation to the decree on the most drastic form of coercion—that is, the use of firearms, which is still in force. Article 36 of the draft law cited four situations. Contrary to the legal regulations currently in force, which enable the use of firearms against persons illegally crossing the state border or attempting to escape, the draft law restricts the instances for use only to self-defence and absolute necessity, recognizing this as a last resort. Attention is also drawn to the fact that the use of firearms is a last resort. Firearms may be used only in extreme circumstances, where loss of life of a border guard or of another person could result from this weapon not being used. The introduction of the possibility for border guards to use weapons of direct coercion eliminates a sort of paradox which has existed up to now in the legal position, such that soldiers of the frontier guard were entitiled to use firearms on the baisis of the 1956 decree on protection of the state frontier, but did not have the right to use less drastic weapons of direct coercion.

Regarding maritime vessels, the right to use means of direct coercion is anticipated only in clearly defined cases specified by the law. The draft also defines the principles of direct chase on the seas. These solutions refer to principles contained in the Maritime Law Convention of 1982. Border guards at sea will not only be implementing tasks in the sphere of state border protection, but will also participate in the protection of economic interests in the Polish economic zone on the Baltic. The draft defines basic principles for the protection of the state border in our airspace with similar consistency to that within solutions contained in the international rules governing air traffic law. These tasks will rest with the National Defense Ministry.

[passage omitted saying that before long, a draft law on the border guard will be directed to the Sejm as part of a greater package; adding that he hopes that the draft law meets contemporary needs and public requirements].

Bill on Handicapped, State Borders

LD0906065390 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 8—The first part of today's Sejm meeting was devoted to discussion on the draft law on rehabilitation of handicapped people at work, put forward by 87 deputies representing various floor groups. The draft aims at creating jobs for a large number of invalids who total some 4.5 million in Poland.

Deputies proposed that a council for handicapped people be set up and operate at the minister of labour and social policy. After an animated discussion which pointed to recent difficulties faced by cooperatives employing invalids the draft law was sent to a Sejm committee.

The next point on the agenda was the first reading of the government bill on protection of the state border which met with a critical evaluation of many deputies who stated that it did not follow the changing situation in Europe.

The Sejm made amendments to several laws pertaining to the judiciary, subjecting misdemeanour courts to regional ones.

Draft amendments to the Law on Deputies' Rights and Duties caused a heated discussion. As concerns pays for deputies and senators, two stands were taken. Those who adopted an ethic stand were of the opinion that also deputies should tighten their belts in the country's difficult situation. Those who backed a pragmatic stand stated that deputies and senators should work under

conditions which should make it possible for them to properly carry out their parliamentary duties and should receive compensation (old age and disability pensions) for financial losses resulting from reduced incomes at work establishments employing them.

Deputy Adam Michnik (Citizens' Parliamentary Club) proposed to subject the issue of pays for deputies to public opinion. He polemicized with deputy Stefan Niesiolowski, who recalled that Michnik had come out in favour of higher old age pensions for former prominent figures. Michnik charged his opponents with lying and referred to Sejm minutes.

Finally, the draft amendments on this issue were returned to the standing orders and the legislative procedure committees.

Also today the Sejm adopted a resolution supporting fully the Polish Government stance on German issue in which it called on the government to energetically strive to get compensation for World War Two victims.

Walesa on Presidency, Support for Mazowiecki

LD0906194390 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Paris, June 9—Lech Walesa, in an interview published on Saturday [9 June] by LE MONDE, spoke in favour of building real pluralism in Poland, "I wish for the appearing of the left, right and centre."

Walesa also assured that he had no political ambitions, that he really did not want to be president. However if fate would "play a bad trick" on him maybe he would be forced to be president.

Speaking on his relations with Mazowiecki's government, leader of the Solidarity said that he supports Tadeusz Mazowiecki, however he is not resigning from criticizing him.

As a union activist I see things differently, and on some issues I totally disagree, but in most cases I am with him because he acts as best possible one can act.

KPN Looks for Political Turning Point

LD1006011590 Warsaw PAP in English 1923 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Warsaw, June 9—The 4th national conference of the confederation of Independent Poland KPN started its two-day debates here today [9 June], attended by almost 400 representatives from KPN's regional chapters.

Opening the conference, KPN's Chairman Leszek Moczulski said in part: We need a pragmatic turn to the right. The collapse of the totalitarian system is obvious but still it has not been substituted by a democratic system.

Slowing down political reforms, setting bounds for the development of political pluralism, dragging feet with the change of the president and putting off free parliamentary elections holds back the return of Poland to democracy and real independence, said Muczulski.

During the discussion, speakers stressed that there are signs that a time of a new political turning point in Poland is coming and that KPN has to be prepared for it. There is a need for political allies and stable expansion of political base especially among youth, workers and peasants. KPN's programme must be alternative to government's activities, speakers pointed out.

Solidarity's Najder on 'Alienated' Youth

AU0606103190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 May 90 p 3

[Zdislaw Najder article: "Lost Youth?"]

[Text] Some ten years ago, an essay entitled "The Apple from the Apple Tree" by the late Prof. Stefan Nowak, who was director of the Warsaw University Institute of Sociology, caused quite a sensation. Although his thesis was simple, it was a revelation: The fundamental values held by young Poles do not differ from those of their parents. The generation gap that is so characteristic of present-day societies in developed or developing countries does not exist in Poland.

We consumed the fruits of that—of those apples that fell close to the apple tree—in 1980 and 1981. The "Solidarity" phenomenon also rested on the fact that the strikes and the entire union movement were supported by both the parents and their children who were in the process of growing up. Martial law produced a split. The demonstrations that were staged in May and August of 1982, 1983, and 1984 were, it seems, primarily the work of young people and became so increasingly. After that, there was also a decline in the expression of open resistance by young people, and the older generation banked firmly on dialogue and compromise. Young people (and new young people appear all the time) viewed this tactic as something alien, or as something that was a matter of indifference to them at the very least. The last movement that succeeded in obtaining both the support of "older" people and the participation of younger people was the "Freedom and Peace" movement.

A clear majority of young people viewed the "round-table" agreement as a betrayal, and the failure to settle the question of the registration of the Independent Association of University Students as providing the crowning proof of that. Today, the overwhelming majority of young people, who approximately account for every sixth Pole who could be politically and socially active, even those young people who belong to the Independent Association of University Students, are alienated from the "grown-up" community or, in the best event, are in revolt against the actions of their elders. Opinion polls indicate that there is a very low level of interest in public life, a lack of understanding of

the changes that are taking place, and an aversion toward any kind of organized participation in national life.

It is striking that the issue of environmental protection, which has mobilized and continues to mobilize people, above all young people, all over the world, has not produced a mass movement in Poland and does not attract young people. There was also hardly anyone under the age of thirty to be seen at meetings and events connected with the local government elections; they also very rarely appeared among the candidates. Among those political movements and groupings that have been proliferating recently (although they are numerically small), only the Confederation for an Independent Poland has succeeded in gaining a certain following among young people.

However, crowds of young people are to been seen waiting patiently outside the entrances to foreign consulates. All the questionnaires concerning young people's views always produce the same results: To go abroad is what teenagers and young people in their early twenties cite most frequently as their goal in life; the overwhelming majority feel that they have no prospects, individually or collectively, in Poland.

I am not making any revelations here, but there is a veil of silence surrounding the question of Poland's youth today. From time to time it is raised just slightly when views are expressed that are as alarming as the recent appeal issued by the Social Committee of Parents, Teachers, and Psychologists in Krakow, which talked about the demoralization of youth. However, "demoralization" is only an extreme manifestation of a wider, deeper, and far more disturbing phenomenon, that of our youth turning its back on the entire adult world, on "Solidarity" and our nascent civic society; on the rebuilding of the structures of an independent state; and on all public affairs. Aggressive "skinheads" or anarchists who carry black flags and do not recognize any authority are not the real threat to our country. These are extreme phenomena, fringe phenomena that are, at the same time, characteristic of all "open" societies. They are, as Jerzy Turowicz rightly said, one of the prices of democracy. On the other hand, a profound gulf between generations at a time that sees our nation and state faced with a great test represents an enormous danger.

It is all the more serious, because it is seldom talked about, and if so, then it is only muttered about, and nothing is done about the issue. That officials ignored the conflict surrounding the revival of the scouting movement provides a telling illustration of this. Now, although complaints are being heard about various abhorrent excesses, somehow no one looks for the reasons behind these phenomena: We want to patch up an ulcer instead of treating the infection that is consuming the organism. After all, aggressive attitudes, including chauvinism, which rightly arouses the greatest concern, are a manifestation (an extreme one and, at least for the time being, a fringe one) of a social dysfunction, namely, the alienation of an entire generation at a time when our entire nation is undergoing a great trial and will continue to do so for the next few years.

Why are the apples falling to the ground so far from the apple tree? What should be done so that our great task of rebuilding an independent state also becomes a task shared in by our children?

It occurs to me at this point that Comrade Aleksander Kwasniewski was until recently responsible for youth affairs in our government.

Protesters Stage March, Call for Dialogue

AU0806104990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0759 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/6/1990—In the evening of 7 June part of the protesters who have occupied Bucharest's University Square for over a month staged a march in downtown Bucharest to the Victoria Palace, seat of Romania's Government, where they filed from the hunger strikers an appeal to the government for dialogue with demonstrators, which is seen as an attribute of democracy that should be observed. The application was accepted and registered, said Mr. Ionel Constantin, one of the participants who has been hunger-striking for some time.

The protesters continued their march to the television building.

Five of the people have been on a hunger strike since the end of April, of which two are in serious condition. They were eventually joined by another 13, six of them Thursday.

In University Square, speakers have been denouncing communism which they allege is creeping back and have demanded an independent television station that could also show three videocassettes the demonstrators want to see on television.

Anti-NSF Demonstration in Front of Parliament

AU0906134190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1257 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—At about 1.00 p.m. [1000 GMT] some 200 demonstrators representing the "People's Alliance" and the "16-21 December Alliance" blocked access roads to parliament in protest to the National Salvation Front [NSF], the caretaker government and the president-elect.

During their march from University Square to parliament building, although booed by passers-by, demonstrators did not demobilize. Led by three protesters who took turns at the head of the column, they called people to a new revolution to be joined by the army.

The mayor of the capital, Dr. Dan Predescu, who arrived on the spot failed to set up a dialogue with the demonstrators.

Military and policemen have cordoned off the area around parliament where Romania's first freely elected law-makers met after 45 years of communist dictatorship. No altercations between demonstrators and the order-keeping forces were reported.

Government Invites Demonstrators to Dialogue

AU0906204090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 9 Jun 90

["Government communique" issued in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] On the evening of 7 June 1990, an unauthorized, antigovernment demonstration took place in front of the government headquarters in Victory Square. Representatives of the demonstrators handed over to the government the following communique:

We protest against the lack of interest shown by the current leadership of the country in the individuals on hunger strike in University Square, whose situation is now critical. We consider that the prolongation of the current situation jeopardizes the life of certain people, who are asking for dialogue as proof that true democracy has been established in Romania. We assume responsibility for creating the proper framework for such a dialogue. In this respect, we ask the country's leadership to appoint a government commission, which should officially announce the date and hour it deems appropriate for holding such a meeting.

The communique was presented by the Association of Architecture Students, the Trade Union of the Arts Academy Students, the Musical Academy Students Group, the 21 December Association, the Students' League, the People's Alliance, the Independent Group for Democracy, the Association of Former Political Detainees, and Radio Liberty 22.

After insistent requests, one person agreed to (?show documented proof of identity).

Recalling that former government endeavors to talk with representatives of the strikers and demonstrations were thwarted, the government expresses profound concern over the lives of those on hunger strike. As has been the case to date, the government remains open to dialogue. In its readiness to examine any reasonable requests within its sphere of competence, the government has set up a commission of authorized officials who should participate in the meeting.

The groups that presented the aforementioned communique are invited to each send a representative, with written authorization from their organizations and a list of their claims, to government headquarters in Victory Square, on Monday, 11 June 1990, at 1500 [1200 GMT].

Further on Government Dialogue

AU1106102190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0938 GMT 11 Jun 90

["Political Life Today: Dialogue Between the Government and Representatives of the Hunger Strikers"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/6/1990—A dialogue between the government and representatives of the

hunger strikers in Bucharest's University Square will take place today, June 11, at 1500 hours (1200 GMT).

It should be reminded that some citizens have been hunger striking in the University Square for over a month, demanding the government respond to a series of claims.

A communique of the government released on June 9 as an answer to a statement made by the organizers of the marathon demonstration in Bucharest expresses its intent to have a dialogue with the hunger strikers.

Two previous attempts to have a dialogue with the hunger strikers' representatives have failed.

Today's meeting will be attended by decision-making officials.

Demonstrators Urged To Change Form of Protest

AU1006194190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 31 May 90 p 1

[Darie Novaceanu article: "University Square"]

[Excerpts] I do not know how much longer the last demonstrators in University Square plan to stay there. Likewise, I do not know how much longer those who brought them there plan to keep them there. But I do know, or rather I begin to believe, that if the protesters do not go on their own accord, nobody will force them to leave. I also know—this time for sure—that those who brought them there to make, along with certain absolutely justifiable claims, some unjust and ever changing demands in keeping with the changes occurring in the country's political climate, have not done it out of love for the country. [passage omitted]

During the electoral campaign, no other electoral propaganda mechanism has functioned more efficiently against the very interests of those who thought it up and made it operational than the University Square protest. Its prolongation and the attempts to revitalize it now are not signs of political sincerity or attachment to the country's interests, which can only be solved together by all political and social forces within a single national consensus. [passage omitted]

It is not the square that should become a neocommunism-free zone, but rather the whole country. The square alone cannot defend the country from this potential danger, but rather the country itself, through the honor, work, and sincerity of its people.

We have often recognized and printed in our paper the rightfulness of such claims made by the University Square demonstrators. They are ours too, and we assure the sincere demonstrators that we will stay vigilant, alongside them, to ensure that the danger of neocommunism does not befall us again. In this respect, ADEVARUL plans to start publishing a rubric entitled "University Square," to which we invite contributions from all those who see signs of neocommunist danger, obviously without frame-ups or personal vendettas. [passage omitted]

Iliescu on First Parliament Session Procedures

AU0806105190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0804 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 8/6/1990—On the eve of the first session of Romania's Parliament elected on May 20, Ion Iliescu, Romania's president-elect, told a ROMPRES journalist who had asked him what his thoughts were before the opening session: "I have no particular role to play, because parliament is only due to open Saturday when the two chambers meet under the provisional leadership of their doyens. A credentials commission will then be elected. And only after the credentials of all senators and deputies are validated, can the two chambers meet to hear the report of the Higher Court of Justice officially proclaiming the president. [no close quotation marks as received]

Report on Chamber of Deputies First Session

AU0906125290

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 0800 GMT on 9 June opens its regular newscast with a report read by an announcer saying that "the proceedings of the Parliament—the result of the first free elections in Romania after more than half a century—opened in Bucharest this morning." Then a hookup is established with the Palace of Parliament, where the opening of the first session of the Chamber of Deputies is reported. The reporter says that Dan Martian, member of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council, takes the floor. Dan Martian starts speaking and informs the audience that, in accordance with the law, the oldest deputy should be designated doyen of the Chamber of Deputies. The oldest member on the list of deputies supplied by the Central Electoral Bureau is Rene Radu Policrat; thus he is elected as doyen of the Chamber of Deputies.

Deputy Policrat starts delivering his opening address. He speaks about parliamentary traditions and human values in Romania. He talks about the Parliament's responsibility toward the nation, the idea of freedom in the context of the state's authority, and the need to draft a constitution, which "should be in complete accordance with the organization of a democratic state and of its organs." He talks about the tasks and responsibilities of deputies. Calling on deputies to do their best in fulfilling their tasks and wishing them success in their activity, Deputy Policrat ends his address at 0829 GMT.

After the announcer communicates that further details on the proceedings will be reported in a future newscast, the relay from the Parliament ends at 0830 GMT.

Senate's First Session Opens 9 Jun

AU0906125690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0750 GMT 9 Jun 90

["Parliamentary Diary—Romania's Senate Set Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—Romania's Senate, made up of 119 senators elected on 20 May, met in its first session in the morning of 9 June.

According to the election law, Professor Cezar Buda, (82) senator of Iasi of the National Liberal Party, was designated the doyen of the Senate. The four secretaries were also appointed from among the youngest senators: Corvin Bangu (born in 1958), Mihaita Postolache (1957), Vasile Victor Aileni (1957) and Jenica Gioacas (1957)—all senators for the National Salvation Front.

In his opening address, the doyen of the Senate stressed the historical mission of those elected by the people to lay the foundation of the fundamental government act in a democratic regime. The most important task of the Senate, together with the Chamber of Deputies, is to give the country a constitution. He also emphasized the demand that the opposition should be able to freely express its opinions, the necessary consensus being thus reached by concerting all stands.

Details on Romania's New Parliament

AU0906130290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0903 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—Romania's first postwar parliament, elected on 20 May, meets in session today, 9 June.

An outcome of the first free elections in half a century, the new bicameral parliament, with a mandate of two and a half years at the most, is a constituent assembly with the main task of drafting the Constitution.

Until the Constitution comes into force, the parliament will also act as a legislative body. After the enforcement of the Constitution, the parliament will call new elections in one year at the most.

The new parliament is made up of the Assembly of Deputies, with 387 members, to whom nine deputies, with the same rights, appointed by the organizations of the ethnic minorities add, and the Senate with 119 members.

Romania embarks on the path of parliamentary democracy after 52 years of successive dictatorships.

The previous parliament that was an expression of free, democratic elections ceased its activity in the fall of 1937.

The opening session of the Senate was attended by heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, members of the diplomatic corps, guests and Romanian and foreign press representatives.

To pass on to one of the main items on the Senate's agenda, Senator Alexandru Birladeanu (National Salvation Front—NSF) proposed in keeping with the provisions of the election law, the setting up of a commission to reflect the political configuration of the Senate. It was agreed that the commission include eight senators of the NSF and four of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, the National Liberal Party and independents respectively. The Senate took a break to allow the political groups to designate their candidates for the credentials commission. Debates were also proposed on draft operation regulations of the Senate (for which there already are two variants).

Senate Adopts Regulations, Ends Session

AU0906130790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1126 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—The Senate's session was resumed around 13.00 hours with the approval of the composition of the credentials commission: eight senators of the National Salvation Front [NSF], two of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and two of the National Liberal Party. The commission withdrew to begin its activity.

After the voting, article by article, of the 23 points of the draft regulations of the Senate, today's session ended.

The Senate will resume its proceedings on Thursday, 14 June at 9 o'clock.

First Chamber of Deputies Session Opens 9 Jun

AU0906130490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—The first session of the Chamber of Deputies, made up of 387 deputies elected on 20 May, adding to whom are nine deputies of the ethnic minorities' organizations, started today at 11.00 hours [0800 GMT] in the building of the Parliament.

Mr. Rene Radu Policrat, jurist, deputy of Mehedinti of the National Liberal Party, born on 12 August 1910, was designated doyen of the Chamber of Deputies.

He is now delivering the opening address.

Proceedings

AU0906130690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1059 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—As many as 389 of the 396 deputies elected by universal ballot on 20 May attend the first session of the Chamber of Deputies which opened in Bucharest on Saturday morning.

The doyen of the Chamber of Deputies is assisted in chairing the proceedings by four secretaries appointed from among the youngest deputies.

In his opening address Doyen Rene Radu Policrat said inter alia: The most valuable of all dictatorships is that of freedom towards which we intend to go. With all the priority given to freedom, it should nevertheless go hand in hand with authority which in its turn should guard against two evils: despotism, which can become the prerogative of power, and anarchy which can become the prerogative of freedom. We are called to accomplish the Romanian democracy by setting it on legality, lawfulness and authority. Only in this way can public right be equal to the political truth, and this is our mission.

Mr. N.S. Dumitru (National Salvation Front) presented the doyen of the Chamber with the draft norms of the Chamber's proceedings. It was agreed that the deputies examine the proposals during the break.

Session Ends

AU0906174090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—The Chamber of Deputies ended almost four hours of debates by approving the preliminary norms for its work. In the closing part of the Saturday session, the Chamber of Deputies agreed on a 30-member credentials commission on which all parties represented in the Chamber be given a proportional number of seats. The following is the distribution of the seats: National Salvation Front 20, Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania 2, National Liberal Party 2, Romania's Ecological Movement and Ecological Party 2, National Christian Democratic Peasant Party 1, Agrarian Democratic Party (plus other groups) 1, the Centre Parties Movement 1. Adrian Severin, a lawyer, representing the National Salvation Front, was elected chairman of the credentials committee.

A 9-member commission was also elected to draft the working rules for the Chamber.

The Chamber will next meet in plenum Thursday 14 June at 10.00 a.m. local time [0700 GMT].

Supreme Court To Meet, Confirm Iliescu Election

AU0906202790 Paris AFP in English 1841 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, June 9 (AFP)—Romanian senators and deputies met separately Saturday to choose election validation committees and adopt procedural rules, at their first meeting since May 20 elections. After lengthy debate, the 389 deputies (out of 396 elected) of the lower house decided the commission that will "verify the validity of the elections" would be based on proportional representation.

The National Salvation Front (NSF), the coalition which swept to power in Romania's first free elections with 233 deputies, was accorded 22 of the seats on the commission. The other eight seats are to be divided among the eight other parties.

After four hours of debate on procedural rules, it was decided that parliamentary parties with less than 10 members and independents must align themselves with larger existing groups.

The 119 elected members of the Senate, meeting in the former chambers of the Romanian Communist Party central committee, decided to elect a 12-member validation commission. The NSF, with 92 seats in the Senate, was accorded eight of the 12 seats on the commission, with two each going to National Liberal Party and Democratic Union of Magyars of Romania.

When the validation commissions from each chamber have completed their work, the chambers will meet in full session. The Supreme Court will then confirm the election of Ion Iliescu, who won 85.07 percent of the vote for president, and he will be asked to name a prime minister. Acting Prime Minister Petre Roman is likely to be Mr. Iliescu's choice as premier, the role he played in the provisional government after the overthrow of Nicolae Ceausescu last December.

Meanwhile, anti-communist demonstrators who have occupied University Square in the heart of Bucharest for 49 days, watched the World Cup soccer match Saturday in which Romania upset the Soviet Union 2-0.

Iliescu Intends To Nominate Roman Premier

AU1106110990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1027 GMT 11 Jun 90

["Political Life: Petre Roman Prime Minister"]—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/6/1990—In an interview with a group of reporters of the leading papers and television companies in Japan, Romania's President Elect Ion Iliescu stated he intended to nominate Petre Roman as prime minister. "For the sake of continuity and in consideration of the experience acquired in these very difficult months, I think that he is the right person," said Ion Iliescu adding that "this option must be agreed upon together with the Parliament."

Iliescu on Magyar Rights, Hungarian Relations

LD0806233690 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Interview with Romanian President-elect Ion Iliescu by unidentified "Panorama" correspondent on the "Panorama" program in Moscow on 7 June—recorded; Iliescu speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] What is Iliescu's opinion about the Magyars' gaining second place in the elections?

[Iliescu] This, in effect, is a good thing. In my view it is not a bad phenomenon that the Magyars gathered around the RMDSz [Romanian Magyars Democratic Party], that they have voted for their own interest representation organization.

[Correspondent] And do you not have the suspicion...

[Iliescu, interrupting] I do not suspect anything...

[Correspondent, interrupting]...that they criticized you, that they did not vote for the Front, and, what is more, that they took a stance against it?

[Iliescu] It is their free choice to vote for whatever organization they want. They felt that the RMDSz represents their interests better; this is their own free choice.

[Correspondent] Will the Magyar demands be fulfilled? Will there be schools, universities for the ethnic Magyars.

[Iliescu] Get going and make a comparison in "Panorama" as to what we have done for the Magyars in Romania in terms of education and what Hungary has done for the Romanians and for other minorities. If we were to take the Hungarian legislation as a model, then we would have to move backward.

[Correspondent] Are you dissatisfied with the situation of the Romanians of Hungary?

[Ilescu] In Romania, the Magyars already have their own Magyar language schools, journals, theaters, many means for their free self-expression. But look how Romanians study in your country.

[Correspondent] They too have schools, except that the proportions are different. In Hungary, the number of Romanians is small.

[Iliescu] And what is the percentage in which they are allowed to continue their studies in Romania?

[Correspondent] But what would you like, what should Hungary do?

[Iliescu] This is your internal affair; perhaps the way it is in your country is even better because in order to assure equality, people must know the language of the state well, the language of the state in which they live so that they are able to work in any part of the country. This is your logic regarding the national minorities in Hungary. If we apply this logic in Romania's case too, then we, with regard to the possibilities of teaching in the mother language, well, we have done more than your country has.

[Correspondent] In other words, you are satisfied with the way in which the Magyar and other minorities live in Romania?

[Iliescu] No. As far as we are concerned we are ready to hold open negotiations with everybody. There is talk of some kind of joint document, too. It is possible to exchange experiences and seek those best solutions which can be applied by everybody in accordance to their individual circumstances.

[Correspondent] Will you come to Hungary?

[Iliescu] Of course. Come to Hungary? Without conditions. I have visited Hungary several times already, and I have always found good friends there.

[Correspondent] Are you sure that the events of Tirgu Mures will not be repeated?

[Iliescu] I hope not.

[Correspondent] What guarantees do you see for this now, after the elections?

[Iliescu] One of the guarantees is that now it will be possible for everybody to have free expression of opinion in every question. The second will be if the conditions ensuring a calm life are consolidated. This may be achieved through general progress. We hope to be able to guarantee this, but nobody can guarantee everything, everywhere and forever.

[Correspondent] And who is responsible for the events in Transylvania? And, anyway, what is happening there? Why is there this mutual distrust there now, after the revolution? For you, too, did this revolution. We too helped a bit and still the mistrust continues to remain. It is now the 70th anniversary of Trianon.

[Iliescu] When democracy is born after a long totalitarian regime, it does in itself result in a balance in relations between individuals, not only in terms of nationalities and ethnicity, but everywhere. All this is not a mere Hungarian-Romanian problem. Look at our society in general. Certain extremist forms have appeared.

[Correspondent] Does Vatra Romaneasca belong to these extremist forms?

[Iliescu] It is possible that individual elements of Vatra, too, belong there, but I was not thinking of this now but that such things appear in politics in general.

[Correspondent] It is being said that Ceausescu is laughing his head off in his grave seeing what is taking place in Transylvania between the Magyars and Romanians.

[Iliescu] It may be true.

[Correspondent] Can Ceausescu come back?

[Iliescu] I do not deal with such kind of...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Did he die, did he die once and for all?

[Iliescu] As a spirit, as a way of thinking, [words indistinct] has died once and for all, ceased, it cannot come back ever.

[Announcer] So we hope. Thus the Romanian leaders. [sentence as heard]

Roman on Future Hungarian Relations

LD0806230590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1905 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by unidentified "Panorama" correspondent on the "Panorama" program in Moscow 7 June—recorded; Roman speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] How do you see the future of Romanian- Hungarian relations?

[Roman] I assume that this future cannot be anything but good. It can only be good. I think that another meeting is needed. Hungary now has a new government. We must get around to another meeting, another conversation. Hungary as well as Romania must make new proposals for bilateral relationship. In general, I think that in this European process, it is we who must be the first.

[Correspondent] It is being said that a joint Hungarian-Romanian agreement exists about the need to solve the nationality issue together.

[Roman] As yet there is no such agreement. There is not. You know the nationality issues in every country—it is perfectly clear—are solved, taking into account the sovereignty of the given country, so to speak. However, there are good proposals that we apply shared principles in settling the issues. I think that such principles could be accepted.

[Correspondent] How is the relationship shaping up between Hungary and Romania now, after the elections?

[Roman] I think in a good direction. At our meeting I expressed my hope that the negative signs which surfaced in the immediate past would disappear. We think that the negatives had been artificially exaggerated and sharpened by certain circles. I do not even know the kind of interests for which they did so; I think it is in our joint interest that the friendly link and mutual trust between our countries should develop. We have lived alongside each other, history put us next to one another, and we must live as good neighbors, on the basis of mutual trust.

[Correspondent] What can you recommend concretely for the solution of the given questions and disputes?

[Roman] I think that our states' representatives must speak openly and directly about our bilateral relations and about all issues affecting our relations. I believe that we can find solution to all questions.

[Correspondent] Does this reassure the Magyars living in Transylvania?

[Roman] They are very...[changes thought] I think so, because it contributes to the solution of our internal problems, too, because ethnic Hungarians and Romanians have always lived together in Transylvania, and they will do so in the future. The must live in friendship.

There are certain misunderstandings, clashes, but these are the consequences of the painful processes which took place in our country. One point of departure of these is the totalitarianism which disturbed the normal relationship between people. I do not have only the Magyars or other national minorities in mind here, for such negative phenomena existed among the entire population, which undoubtedly had a bad psychological effect on the people. I think that jointly we will be able to understand. I have many Hungarian friends. I know very many such people who used to live together and who now are suspicious of each other without grounds.

I think that in the interest of commonwealth, we shall find the solution to every issue. For, after all, those ethnic Hungarians who live in Romania are Romanian citizens, are members of our society with full rights. Our state and government are interested primarily that every citizen is able to exercise all rights granted by democracy. Thus we consider even more urgent than does your government, the solution of these issues.

Robu on Coming Trial of Former CP Leaders

AU0706163890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1406 GMT 7 Jun 90

["Justice—A Great Trial in Bucharest Soon"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/6/1990—Investigations into the activity of former Romanian Communist Party leaders, charged with genocide by supporting dictator Ceausescu's decision to fiercely reprimand the December 1989 revolution, concluded early this week. In an interview with the newspaper "ADEVARUL" Romania's prosecutor general, Mr. Gheorghe Robu, said that 24 defendants former full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee or secretaries of the Central Committee would appear in court. The indictment, which the prosecutor's office completed and confirmed, extends on 165 pages. As many as 55 witnesses, including defendants in previous trials, will be heard.

In his interview, the prosecutor general referred to testimony by witnesses and defendants which, he said, were of real interest for the cause at issue. He said that owing to that testimony gaps in the stenogram of the famous December 17, 1989 meeting of the Executive Political Committee such as the comic episode of the dictator's possible resignation could be filled. The farce of the resignation, Mr. Robu also said, was described both by former activist Andrei Vela and stenographers Ionescu and Stanciu, as witnesses, and by Mihai Gere, former alternate member of the Executive Political Committee. The latter said that Manescu, Bobu, Dascalescu and Curticeanu had been among those who most

strongly opposed the resignation. Former Prime Minister Dascalescu admitted he had asked Ceausescu to stay a general secretary and a president.

As to the way in which the former premier behaved during the inquiry, the prosecutor general said the defendant had attempted suicide twice on 10 February, when he repeatedly banged his head against the wall in the bathroom, and on 12 February, when he hit his head against a radiator. Both times, he was taken to hospital and he is all right now.

Former Nomenklatura Members in Court

AU0806214790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/6/1990—Romania's prosecutor general's office—the Military Prosecutor's Offices Directorate—decided to send defendands Stefan Andrei, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Silviu Curticeanu, Gheorghe David, Constantin Dascalescu, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Suzana Gadea, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Ana Muresan, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Dumitru Popescu, Constantin Radu, Ion Radu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ion Stoian, Iosif Szasz, Ioan Toma, Ioan Totu and Ioan Ursu, former full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee [CC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], who were placed under preventive arrest on charges of genocide before the Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal.

The defendants are charged in connection with the events over December 17-22, 1989, when the Executive Political Committee, called on orders by Dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, looked into the situation created in Timisoara, Bucharest and other towns, where the people's revolution against dictatorship had broken out and was gaining score. The former RCP leader and Romanian head of state declared a state of emergency throughout the country and alarmed all military units. He also ordered that war bullets be used against the demonstrators. The aforesaid members of the Executive Political Committee decided to reprimand the people's revolution with fire arms, a step applied starting December 17, 1989, in the evening. The acts of violence against unarmed people and a number of soldiers who defended the revolution, committed by repressive bodies and by individuals faithful to Ceausescu's regime even after the dictator had been overthrown caused the death of 1,033 people, while another 2,198 were wounded. In both cases, more than half of the victims were civilians demonstrating in the capital city.

Defendants Constantin Dascalescu, Mihai Gere, Gheorghe Oprea and Dumitru Popescu are also charged with violation of the firearms law, weapons of various types and substantial amounts of ammunition, for which they had no certificates, having been found at their homes.

The present case also included Vasile Barbulescu, the dictator's brother-in-law, who was secretary of the CC of the RCP in charge of agricultural affairs. As he had died in the meantime, investigations into his case were closed.

During the inquiry, all the defendants were psychiatrically tested and it could be noted that none of them suffered from diseases affecting their discernment.

Measures were also taken to levy a distraint upon the defendants' assets and valuables.

Prosecutor's Office Denies Barbulescu's Death

AU0906154590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1334 GMT 9 May 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/6/1990—"There are no objective reasons to assume that Vasile Barbulescu whose health was poor has died" says a statement of the Prosecutor-General Office broadcast by Bucharest radio Saturday at noon. (It is reminded that Friday the Romanian radio television and ROMPRES announced that Vasile Barbulescu, the late dictator's brother-in-law and ex-secretary of the party's Central Committee in charge of agriculture, had died during the investigations, so criminal proceedings against him were stopped)

In connection with defendant Ioan Ursu (ex-member of the ruling politbureau) the criminal case against him has been severed because his failing health. A solution is pending the Prosecutor-General Office says.

Daily on NSF 'Dangerous Victory'

'Part II'

AU0906184890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Octavian Paler article: "Dangerous Victory"—Part II]

[Text] Through its proportions, which come stunningly and frighteningly close to the embarrassing unanimous ballots of the time of dictatorship, the victory of the National Salvation Front [NSF] is dangerous, primarily for itself. Such a victory isolates the Front from the other political forces in the country. The Front risks becoming the prisoner of its own electoral success. Instead of celebrating their victory (we heard that they did that at Ceausescu's villa in Snagov, but the choice of place can only be meaningful for those prepared to make comparisons all day long), the Front's strongmen should rather have fretted over it. How will they manage now, when they have won such a victory that does not allow them to share responsibility with anybody else for the next two years? I believe that they should be extremely worried, not necessarily out of patriotic feeling, but out of egoism and the instinct for self-preservation. In such circumstances, there are, generally speaking, only two roads to follow: one, where the boomerang of the means used to win power threatens to turn against those who manipulated them; and the second one, whereby those in power try to break the deadlock through dictatorial means. The choice depends, among other things, on the extent to which those legitimized now to be, in practical terms, the

country's sole helmsmen—without a normal democratic mechanism designed to protect them from themselves—will be able to face the greatest danger looming ahead, namely arrogance. We will see who wins, the totalitarian vocation of the Front, as successor of the communist party, or fear of the fate reserved for all totalitarian trends. It is not easy to make speculations now, since we are living at a time of crisis (economic, social, moral, of trust, and so forth) when good intentions require much greater efforts than voluntarist temptations. To be honest, I was at a loss when Mr. Iliescu recently said that we do not take lessons in democracy from anyone (where else did we hear such things?), but let us hope that it was a mere slip of the tongue. Anyway, during the period of the constituent assembly—when the NSF can decide what it wants on the basis of the 20 May ballot results, without being inhibited, as has been the case until now, by a lack of legitimacy—we will see whether it has the necessary critical intelligence to defend itself from the virus which can infest, quickly and incurably, with the sickness of power intoxication and can push one into a kind of experience that we all know so well, as we were its guinea pigs until last December.

Second, the crushing NSF victory is also dangerous for the opposition, which, once reduced to a decorative role, cannot play a serious part in the parliament. The hatred against parties, cynically fostered during the struggle for power, has managed to intoxicate the voters' psychology so seriously as to make the resulting opposition ridiculous. Its voice has no chance of making itself heard, if the Front is not ready to accept it. If the winners are sentenced to isolation and loneliness, the losers are sentenced to speaking in vain, without being in a position to have a decisive influence on any of the decisions of the future parliament, where the holders of almost 70 percent of the seats in the Chamber and Senate will be able to take whatever decisions they like. In these circumstances, the opposition will have to face two diametrically opposed dangers: to become resigned and give up any kind of political struggle, in view of the lack of any prospects of being able to impose their viewpoints, unless the adversary shows "generosity"; or to try to join the power, with the illusion of being able to influence it from within, which may end up in suicide.

Is it also necessary to mention that the disproportionately large victory of the Front is even a danger to the chances of Romania's democracy and the country's future? Through their vote on 20 May, the electorate renounced the necessary means required by any authentic democracy to prevent or at least limit the abuse of power. Democracy cannot be conceived anywhere without the existence of a serious opposition, capable of ensuring a political balance and of forcing the government to enter a dialogue, which the latter cannot eschew. Democracy requires a serious opposition, that is a power center which can defend the leading power center from the intoxication of power; an opposition which can exert democratic control, while also representing an alternative. We do not have such an institution now. A single political force received from the electorate a blank check, on which the government and the president can write any sum they want, without being obliged to account for it, as is the norm in a democratic state. In practical terms, Mr. Iliescu and the government will be able to do whatever they want. No true democracy is content to rely on the goodwill of its rulers! It ensures appropriate mechanisms that make arbitrariness impossible. With us, even before we prepared a new and democratic constitution, the ballot has turned political pluralism into a fiction. The existence of several parties does not play a major role in the parliament. A wrong idea, even though its intention may have been good, will not be able to be corrected unless the crushing NSF majority agrees that the respective idea is wrong.

Nothing will protect power from itself. Consequently, it will not be up to the political system that resulted from the elections, but rather up to the decency of those empowered to govern us and their reaction to the intoxicating appeal of power, whether we will evolve toward an authoritarian regime or will avoid the possible risks of a restoration. In other words, we have placed ourselves at the discretion of some people who may or may not honor their promises, for reasons that they will name only when they wish to, if they wish to, and how they wish to, without being hampered by a practically helpless opposition. Theoretically, anything can happen now: We can postpone our future, lose the present, and, in spite of assurances to the contrary, even relive the past. The sudden festive subservience of some TV commentators who returned, so to say, to the old reflexes that they gave up last December (is this relapse a bad sign?) increases my doubts. Will the election victors have the moral strength to impose limits on themselves and avoid abuses, now that they can legally make them? Knowing that they can do whatever they want without any real obstacles in parliament, will they have the strength not to forget how they got there, to the helm, and how they managed—for the time being—to deprive our society of true democracy, a society which has made sacrifices in a revolution for this very cause?

In my opinion, to improvise an opposition within the Front—an apparently attractive prospect—would only aggravate our parliament's "originality." This would be tantamount to a return to an idea refuted even by those who conceived it, the Gorbachevists, namely to create an opposition within the sole party, something which would destroy even the last vestige of democracy based on the principle of political pluralism. Indeed, we would then be unique in the whole of East Europe! Is this the original road that some are talking so much about? Anyhow, we will see. As far as I am concerned, I prefer an honest opposition, even though it may be deprived of practical hopes, which can show us how much the Front is able to restrain itself, without throwing into our eyes the dust of an operetta opposition.

The Front's victory—which was expected, in principle, but was stunning nevertheless, due to similarities with the results of the electoral farces in the past 45 years—implies another danger, too. I am sure that it is no secret to anyone that many of our fellow nationals voted in the belief that they are voting for stability and quietude. In actual fact, by making impossible the establishment of a truly democratic balance, they paved the way for some major perturbations and tensions, and I do not know how these can be eased up. If the Front adopts a rigid and haughty attitude—as some statements seem to indicate—I am afraid that the abyss between the government and the tragic and desperate minority which contests it in the name of the revolution will grow. In these circumstances, the opposition will take to the streets, rather than prove itself in parliament. However, I sincerely hope that the evil that may emerge from this dangerous victory, as from Pandora's box, will remain a nightmare in my imagination and will never come true. Moreover, I am thinking of the fact that the last captive to emerge from Pandora's box was, however, hope.

'Part III'

AU1006222090 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 May 90 pp 1, 5

[Octavian Paler article: "Dangerous Victory"—Part III]

[Text] I think Mr. Iliescu is right when he says that one of the most urgent things that should be of concern to us right now is how to emerge from the extremely serious moral pollution caused by the dictatorship. However, I ask myself, what are the chances of the success of such a purification process, as long as one tends to blame only Ceausescu for everything that happened? We are not dealing with a simplification or an evil symbol here, but rather with a trap. For a while, in the first days after the revolution, we heard voices that seemed to be convinced that the "odious one" and the "sinister woman" were monsters that had nothing in common with socialism and communism. The effect was separated from the cause; actually it was turned into the cause! There is no doubt that the "odious one" and the "sinister woman" had been monsters indeed. But they were not monsters outside the system; they were not a mere system aberration capable of compromising the system. They were monsters from within the system; they were made possible only by such a system, which created them from the evil of the totalitarian utopia, whose grotesque expression they became. These monsters showed us where the system installed in our country 45 years ago can lead. Therefore, the more or less intentional attempts to excessively individualize the guilt for the nightmare experienced by us all represent, in my opinion, a very dangerous diversion. Soon one may risk no longer distinguishing between "dictator" and "dictatorship," thus imagining that "the dictator" consumes "the dictatorship." Is it not true that for many weeks after the revolution we had the impression that once Ceausescu fell, the dictatorship also collapsed?

I am going to digress a little in order to say that, in my opinion, all those who compared Romania's situation in 1990 to the situation in 1946—even drawing an equation between the two years and basing their electoral strategy on this assumption—acted rashly. There are many differences between the two periods. Some favor today's situation (the absence of occupying troops and the completely changed international framework), while others do not. In 1946, there was a civil society in our country. This civil society also had a material base: The state had not yet taken over the private enterprises, the peasants were tilling their lands, and trade was free, albeit devastated by the war. Moreover, the memory of the Romanian democratic traditions—no matter how few or imperfect they were—was still alive in the minds of people, minds that had not been blackened by time and Marxist misinterpretations. Then followed what everybody knows. The state gradually confiscated the entire society; the Communist Party confiscated the state; the Central Committee confiscated the Communist Party; the Political Bureau confiscated the Central Committee, and an individual (later a family) confiscated the Political Bureau (or the Political Executive Bureau), thus establishing a nationalized and gloomy feudalism in the middle of the 20th century, something not even experienced by the much maligned Middle Ages. On 22 December, some of these enclosed "Chinese boxes" disappeared, but the Romanian society did not become free. It continued to remain closed in the structures of the state created by totalitarianism and, no less important, in the mentality, inertia, habits, and inhibitions created and proliferated during the dictatorship. Today, more than five months after the revolution, the civil society has just started trying to recreate itself. Its basis is most precarious, as the state still has the possibility to crush the individual and decide whether he is man or dog. The memory of our democratic traditions has grown dim with the passage of time and has been darkened by the cliches borrowed from Stalinist historians, who rewrote and falsified our history in order to make it fit their theses. Moreover, we still bear the stigmas of the long nightmare we have been through. We are still not free spiritually. The past—with its ghosts and moral disasters, and with the damage it has done to our logical thinking and to the way in which we look upon life and the world—prevents us, I believe, from seeing clearly around us and within ourselves. Otherwise, I cannot explain why so many people who, I am sure, would be ready to give their lives for this country, are mistaking patriotism for the preservation of certain states of affairs that are completely alien to our spirit and represent a real danger for Romania's future.

In order to become truly free we should look, no matter how difficult it may be, into the depths of the inferno of moral corruption created by the dictatorship. However, there are few signs that indicate the start of such a purifying process, the only one which, in my opinion, can take us out of the decay that has threatened even our existence as a people. On the contrary, we rather seem to lean toward giving in to the temptation of considering

ourselves innocent and simplifying things, thus allowing the evil in us to go on working on us. How many people are there who on 20 May opted, maybe unconsciously so, for a kind of "stability," that will not oblige them to undertake a serious examination of their conscience? How many continue to consider the apportioning of guilt a very unpopular and unpleasant, and hence an excessive task? However, the trend to blame only "a dictator," rather than "a dictatorship," with all its consequences, will surely impede our escape from this moral pollution. It is very easy to blame everything on an Antichrist. This hampers the process of passing moral judgments. But for God's sake, do we not wish to get rid of Ceausescu's phantom? Do we really want to let it haunt us further by refusing to look the past in the eye, thus still thinking in terms of an, alas, corrupt logic?

I would like to make another digression. Many of the old guilty deeds can be justified. In 1946 we knew the meaning of the totalitarian paradise only in theory. Our geographical position, the international developments, plus the occupying troops sentenced us to having to put up with a history which we did not want, but could not prevent. Perhaps it was only natural that many found themselves caught up in that mechanism, which later would not allow them to extricate themselves from it. But what about now? What can justify now the new guilt, the new compromises, and the new gestures of opportunism? What will be the excuse of those who continue to do freely—as free as we are now—things which in the past they were made to do by force? I am afraid that the new guilty ones will no longer be able to invoke the saying of the chronicler, namely, that man is the product of his time. Our geographical position no longer plays a decisive role in our days. The international evolution of events is rather following the course of the "unoriginal" democracy, only we.... Anyhow, let me come back to what I wanted to say. My impression is that the Front's crushing victory has delayed not only the dawn of true democracy, which presupposes a real and efficient opposition, but also the recapture of our freedom through a process of correct ethical thinking. Freedom and democracy cannot be separated, and second, the correct understanding of the meaning of "moral corruption" and "moral pollution" necessarily implies a condemnation of their root cause, that is, of the system which produced them, not just the effects. However, as long as the Front itself represents a continuation of the system—no matter how deviated or reformed it may be—there is little chance of a serious examination which will not add new impurities to the old pollution. The mermaid's song of power, which threatens to corrupt the opposition, too, can also lure the free intellects to the traps of the sole party; then there would be no hope left for us. We will gradually forget that we ourselves have hurried up to create a power which cannot be inhibited by another power, that is a farce of democracy, and we will try to adjust ourselves and "fend for ourselves," in keeping with old reflexes.

However, one day we will have to rigorously deal with the problem of who is really "selling the country" (to use an expression which heated up tempers so much during the electoral campaign)? Those who are so desperate that we missed the great chance of joining Europe with equal rights, along with other Eastern countries that have broken through the Yalta myth, or those who are relying on a state created by communism, patterned after a foreign model, and on the feuds they sowed among us to make us accept the postponement of the future? For the time being, instead of an answer, I will quote from a billboard carried through the streets of Bucharest to University Square by the pupils of the "Gheorghe Lazar" High School: "Parents, You Have Sold Us to Communism." A tragic statement.

Loncar: CSCE Talks 'Surpassed' Original Goals

LD0806033790 Belgrade TANJUUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Copenhagen, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—The ministerial part of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension has surpassed its original ambitions and has grown into a prime and open exchange of views on the new architecture of Europe, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign relations, stated today before his departure from Copenhagen.

According to his assessment, three topics were dominant: further development of norms and mechansisms for improving the CSCE human dimension, strengthening states' obligations, in the course of the major European and international changes, to standardize the domain of human rights and democratic framework in general, on the unique route toward a new Europe, and also preparations for the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris.

That summit will, the Yugoslav foreign minister stressed, undoubtedly surpass the original idea to sanction the agreement of the Group of 23 on conventional disarmament, opening the process of building a new European structure. He added that it was anticipated in Copenhagen, the Paris summit will determine a kind of institutionalizaton of the Helsinki process by holding summits every year, ministerial meetings at least once a year, and founding a permanent secretariat.

Loncar underlined it is quite certain the Paris summit will lay foundations of the new European architecture, which would later, in Helsinki in 1991, obtain its legal, written form.

The Copenhagen conference, Loncar continued, paid considerable attention to the problem of the national miniorities, both in ministers' speeches and in their bilateral contacts. They stressed the need to standardize the rights of national minorities, like those of the individual. In this context, the proposal of the pentagonal group on national minorities was met with noticeable response at the conference, the federal secretary stressed.

Finally, Loncar said, Copenhagen was an opportunity for a number of useful and substantial bilateral meetings with foreign ministers of other participating countries.

Prior to his departure from the Danish capital, the federal secretary had talks with ministers from Spain, Francisco Fernandez- Ordonez, from Portugal, Joao de deus Pinheiro, from the Netherlands, Hans van den Broek, and with Canadian Foreign Minister Joseph Clark.

In these talks they expresased their support for the Yugoslav reforms, and its efforts to institutionally join Europe—through its full membership in the Council of Europe and its association with the EC.

The Canadian minister particularly supported the need for the activation of North-South dialogue in the framework of resolving economic problems of developing countries.

Loncar Comments Further

LD0806034590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Tomorrow's Europe was the focus of the first, ministerial, part of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, continuing in Copenhagen. In addition to the implementation of those obligations already assumed by the member countries in this sphere, also discussed were numerous other issues, primarily the new European architecture and the new system of European security in the wake of the momentous changes on the old continent.

Budimir Loncar, the federal secretary for foreign affairs, said this tonight in Belgrade after returning from Copenhagen.

He underlined that on this occasion the process of CSCE had proved itself once again to be the broadest and most effective forum for talks and cooperation.

All the member states expressed their deep interest in exchanging opinions in Copenhagen, particularly regarding the democratization of the common European home, Loncar said. In this context everyone has their own place and ways, nonetheless, all this is a wide European avenue, he added.

Loncar pointed particularly to the fact that exceptional significance had been attached, in the first part of the Copenhagen meeting, to the question of the status and rights of national minorities since this issue encompasses both individual and collective rights as well as relations between states.

Loncar stressed that the principles in respect of the rights of minorities, presented by the Yugoslav delegation and the other ones of the pentagonal group for regional cooperation (Italy, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), had been met with a positive response. Internationally controlled censuses and drawing a new map of national minorities on Europe's soil were agreed on as the new European tasks.

Loncar regarded the appearance of the Albanian delegation at the Copenhagen conference as a reflection of the changes in this country and the Albanian wish to present them on the international scene. Interdependence is a reality, thus Albania's opening and the European changes and influences constitute a two-way process, Loncar said.

Reflecting on his contacts with his counterparts today and during the past few days, Loncar said that in the

course of these 15 meetings, apart from bilateral relations, the main issues had been relations in Europe and Yugoslavia's intention to join the EC and the Group of 24.

Loncar talked about Germany's reunification with the ministers from Bonn and Berlin, Hans Dietrich Genscher and Markus Meckel, and the head of the Soviet diplomatic service, Eduard Schevardnadze. Both Germanys, he assessed, are ready to accept the changes in the nature of the military and political blocks and their mutual relations.

In addition to this, Loncar stressed, one should bear in mind that new relations, situations, and security structures in the CSCE framework will be formed.

The new CSCE phase, it was agreed in Copenhagen, will be the Paris summit, scheduled for 19 December this year. In addition to the nearly completed negotiations on conventional disarmament, the agenda also envisions Europe's new security system and the unification of Germany as another big issue.

This agreement will be preceded by a ministerial CSCE meeting in New York on the eve of the regular autumn session of the UN General Assembly. A new meeting at the top level will be held in Helsinki after the Paris summit in 1991. Then, the new European architecture should be given its legal framework. The basic organizational elements of the CSCE will be summits, once in two years, meetings of ministers, at least once a year, the establishment of a CSCE committee at the ambassadorial level and the formation of an operational body, a CSCE secretariat of sorts. These are not yet the definitive decisions, but rather an expression of agreement about mutual commitments to building the new European home, Loncar said.

In this context the group of Europe's neutral and nonaligned countries is proving, as ever, to be an indispensable factor of communication and cooperation, the federal secretary concluded.

Council of Europe Secretary Discusses Membership

LD1106120290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0926 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Istanbul, 11 Jun (TANJUG)—Whether and when Yugoslavia will become a member of the Council of Europe depends solely on the Yugoslavs themselves, the Council's secretary Catherine Lalumiere has told TANJUG at the 17th conference of European justice ministers here.

According to Lalumiere, the Council of Europe has a years long cooperation with Yugoslavia and would gladly see this country within its ranks.

She recalled, however, that membership in this organization depends on three conditions: the existence of a legal state, a multiparty democracy and a respect of human rights.

The Yugoslav Government has clearly shown a will to meet the three conditions, Lalumiere said.

According to her, however, certain Yugoslav republics have yet to embrace the values of these principles, while in others active are "centrifugal forces," which obstruct the functioning of the federation.

The Yugoslav republics are those which should decide whether they will close themselves within their borders or open up towards Europe, Lalumiere said.

Jovic on Malaysian Trip, Group of 15 Meeting

LD0806050390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic returned today to Belgrade from Malaysia, where he headed the Yugoslav delegation at the recently concluded summit of the Group of 15 for consultation and cooperation among developing countries. In that regard he stayed in the country on an official and friendly visit.

Upon his arrival at Airport Surcin [Belgrade airport], in a statement to journalists, Jovic assessed as successful the first summit of 15 developing countries devoted to the possibilities of improving economic cooperation. The expectations of this summit to make a concrete step forward in creating projects for cooperation and coordination among developing countries on the basis of conclusions of the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries are fully realized, Jovic stressed.

He recalled that the summit formulated several projects, in which, primarily, the member countries of the Group of 15 will cooperate, as will all other countries wishing to join them. Two Yugoslav projects are among those adopted, one of them concerning a business forum, which will be held in our country next year, and the other one concerns exchange of technological information and cooperation, Jovic stressed. He assessed the summit as a new, very important element for integration which enables the countries of the South to successfully cooperate among themselves, but also with the developed North.

According to him, the agreement on the continuity of cooperation of the Group of 15 is important, because the next summit will be held in Caracas, Venezuela, next year, which will examine all that will be done this year and will formulate future projects.

Commenting on the talks about the bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Malaysia, the SFRY Presidency president assessed that economic cooperation could be at a considerably higher level in the future.

Malaysia is a successful developing country, with great prosperity and a strong market. Yugoslav enterprises have a strong position at that market, which now represents our most important partner in Southeastern Asia, Jovic stressed. In his talks with Prime Minister Mahathir and other Malaysian leaders we examined our relations and all the possible projects in detail. We ascertained what we need to do to have the biggest number of projects realized to our mutual interest, he added.

Jovic expressed his conviction that our economy, provided that it studies the Malaysian market well and comes up with competitive offers, could be much more prevelant. Stating that the Yugoslav trade deficit with Malaysia is, to a certain extent, influenced by the structure of our imports from this country, Jovic assessed that considerable possibilities for decreasing this imbalance do exist.

Police Protest 'Ethnically Pure' Patrol Units

LD0506214890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Pec, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Workers of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities from the Pec-based unit of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs today stopped work in protest over the formation of ethnically pure police units, composed entirely of Albanians. However, after talks with commanders of the special police unit, headed by Commander Ratko Corgic, to whom they drew attention to consequences of such a decision for the safety of citizens, they returned to their assigned work tasks.

Fifty Serbian and Montenegrin workers of the Pec Secretariat for Internal Affairs are also signatories of a petition demanding that single-nation police stations be disbanded and that the republican secretary for internal affairs, Radmilo Bogdanovic, visit this town in three days where, during the latest events, the situation was difficult.

If our demands are not met, the petition stresses, we workers of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs' unit in Pec, will stop working because we would not be in a position to secure personal and property safety. [passage omitted]

Bogdanovic Addresses Protest

LD0906115690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 8 May 90

[Excerpts] Pec, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Several thousand residents of Pec gathered today for the second time in a week in the Karagac Sports Hall to protest the decision of the provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SUP) to form single-nation militia units. Today's protest meeting was also attended by Radmilo Bogdanovic, the republican secretary for Internal Affairs, whose arrival was met with whistling and demands for his resignation. The meeting was attended by representatives of the sociopolitical structures of the municipality of Pec, and Obrad Stevanovic, commander of the combined militia unit in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

There was sharp criticism of individual foreign public information media because they carried articles saying Pec residents, at a protest meeting held on 2 June, sought to establish the responsibility of the republican Executive Council. This is not true. Pec residents have full confidence in the government and leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia led by Slobodan Milosevic, it was stressed at today's protest meeting.

Addressing those present, Radmilo Bogdanovic, stressed inter alia: The decision of the provincial SUP on the formation of special single-nation militia units is invalid, in other words, a decision on this can only be adopted by the republican SUP and the republican Executive Council and not by the provincial SUP and the provincial Executive. Hence, at tomorrow's session of the republican and provincial Executive Council we will not permit these units to continue to remain in place, even at the cost of these 400 policemen being left without jobs. The republican SUP will try to take over all the jobs which are now being performed by provincial militia units, Bogdanovic said, and continued: Please be peaceful and tranquil. In the last few days the republican SUP has formed an armored-mechanized brigade in Kosovo. Never again will demonstrations, as in January and February in Kosovo and Metohija, be repeated. In future we will use all technological means against those wanting to destroy the constitutional order of Serbia and Yugoslavia. The republican Executive Council and the Socialist Republic of Serbia will resist by all means the onslaughts of the Kosovo alternative opposition and protect all Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims in Kosovo, Radmilo Bogdanovic stressed at the end, and this was met with thunderous applause by the several thousand people present.

Kosovo Groups 'Ghettoization' Trends Examined

LD1006125590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1203 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Political democracy or free elections in entire Yugoslavia and in Kosovo ("is one) of the most important preconditions for opening a genuine dialogue in this [word indistinct], it has been noted, among other things, at a joint meeting held in Belgrade by members of the Yugoslav Human Rights Forum and the Association of Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (UJDI).

According to the nearly unanimous view of participants in the debate, Kosovo is only "an extreme example of what characterizes the entire country: an insufficiently satisfactory situation in human rights and the absence of dialogues, what has been to a large extent facilitated by the suppression of civil in favour of national rights."

The meeting pointed out that the "Yugoslav nations and nationalities, and also the members of the different groups in Kosovo are headed towards their own ghettoization instead towards seeking the reasons for living together."

The debate was prompted by TV report issued by an independent commission formed at a recent roundtable conference organized by the UJDI in the Kosovo capital of Pristina concerning the subject "Human Rights in Kosovo and Yugoslavia."

The UJDI is a newly-formed political party which seeks to gather together Yugoslavs irrespective of their national belonging, and, its activists include also the major leaders of the Kosovo alternative, or, people [words indistinct] the separatist movement in this autonomous province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Federal Interior Secretariat Discusses Security

LD0906145990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, assessed today in talks with leaders of the Kragujevac Secretariat for Internal Affairs (SUP) that the security situation in the country is exceptionally complicated and burdened by many factors which are increasing the sense of fear, disquiet, and general concern for the fate of Yugoslavia among citizens and working people. This is stated in today's communique from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Belgrade, issued in connnection with the visit by Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, and Radmilo Bogdanovic, the republican secretary for internal affairs, to the Kragujevac SUP.

All the values which we have created are being disputed and efforts are being made to bring into question, under the guise of democracy, even the liberation character of the National Liberation Struggle, Gracanin went on to say. Ideologies, movements, and personalities are being reaffirmed which have long since been assigned by our nations and nationalities to the place for national traitors and collaborators with the occupiers.

Speaking about the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, he assessed that the organs of internal affairs are carrying out their tasks and making the greatest efforts, but that their activity on its own is not sufficient in a situation in which the passivity of other state organs and organizations is obvious. [passage omitted on internal affairs organs must protect the constitutional order and the freedoms and rights of citizens]

Otherwise, according to the statement, the leaders of the Kragujevac SUP assessed that the security situation in the region is satisfactory. However, in their assessment extreme rightwing forces are in evidence which, from a position of being pro-Chetniks, are advocating a settling of scores with socialists and communists. They are trying to exploit the objective dissatisfaction of working people and citizens [pointing to] their socioeconomic position and problems which are present in the economy.

Military Equipment Production Figures Released

LD0806072690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Nikinci, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslvaia's arms and military equipment industry presently meets about 75 percent of our armed forces' total requirements for armaments and military equipment, of which 90 percent is based on its own development and 10 percent is manufactured, fully or partly, under license. In the past, exports of armaments, military equipment, and military engineering accounted for 30 percent of the military industry's capacity and provided 70 percent of the accumulation for the exporters.

Jovan Jovicic, chairman of the Association of the Yugoslav Industries of Armaments and Military Equipment, said this in his conversation with Yugoslav journalists on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Yugoslav military industry. He noted this branch of our industry—comprising 54 organizations associated in the Association of the Industries of Armaments and Military Equipment, 80,000 employees, and about 1,000 subcontractors from all over the country—is able to manufacture over 400 various items and systems of armament and military equipment.

The long-standing unfavorable trends in our country's economy have negatively affected, and still affect, the military industry. The difficulties stem from the ever-more pronounced problems of financing the army and have resulted in considerable reductions in our army's acquisitions of armaments and military equipment, Jovicic said. At the same time, over the past four years only 30 percent of the investment-program plans for the modernization of the military industry's facilities have been carried out. The primary reason for this is the rapid impoverishment of the specialized industries and the reductions in the funds for credit support to investment programs.

The head of the administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Major-General Aleksandar Radovic, stressed that about 50 large projects are currently underway in Yugoslav military and civilian institutes, which in the coming period should resolve certain problems in exploiting the military industry's potentials. [passage omitted]

Bank Chief Stresses Dinar Sole Legal Currency

LD1006113890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—The issuing of the "lipa" or "franjk" or any currency other than the dinar in Yugoslav territory represents a criminal act that carries severe punishment under the existing legislation.

This is how the Yugoslav National Bank Governor, Dusan Vlatkovic, comments on unofficial reports about privately-owned holding companies in Croatia and Slovenia setting the stage to print the "parallel monetary units" now that the two republics have their first non-communist governments after the multi-party elections they held more than a month ago.

In a statement to TANJUG, Vlatkovic says that the Yugoslav constitution prescribes that the dinar be the country's sole official monetary unit for payments on its unified economic, fiscal and money market.

Vlatkovic underscores that the country shall not change the rate of dinar exchange relative to hard currencies (seven dinars to the Deutsch mark) for it is both realistic and stable as may be seen from the successful Yugoslav export-import trade and the situation in the country's current and overall balance of payments.

As for the Yugoslavs' individual savings deposits in foreign money (around $11.2 billion), the governor points out that this money has played a salient role in the consolidation of both the balance of payments and external solvency (the country's foreign exchange reserves now amounting to some $8.5 billion) and that the federation of Yugoslavia remains the guarantor for individual foreign-exchange savings deposits.

Federal Assembly Institutes 'Multiparty' System

LD0906204490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Today, after four-and-a-half decades of the single-party system in Yugoslavia, the process was started to reconstitute the SFRY Assembly on a multiparty basis.

The SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces verified the mandate of the members of the newly elected delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia to the Assembly Chamber. In the next four years this republic's interests in the Assembly Chamber will be advocated by eight representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) and four delegates from the ranks of the Croatian League of Communists—Party of Democratic Change.

Informing the delegates that the Mandate and Immunity Commission found the election of the members of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Croatia to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, had been carried out in compliance with the Constitution and law, Chamber President Miran Mejak congratulated the newly elected candidates and wished them successful work. At the same time on behalf of the chamber, Mejak thanked the members of this republic's former delegation on their successful work and faithful cooperation.

The new delegation from the Socialist Republic of Croatia comprises: Drazen Bobinac, Josip Bursic, Branimir Glavas, Drago Krpina, Andjelko Kruzicevic, Ivan Lucev, Ivan Mikulic, Petar Sale, Milan Topalovic, Ivan Tormas, Janko Vasiljevic, and Djuro Vidmarovic.

Obviously, the new Croatian delegation is made up of representatives of two parties, although only one sex is represented—not a single woman is in the delegation. [passage omitted]

The Chamber of Republics and Provinces today adopted the final balance statement on the federation's fund for crediting the speedier development of the economically underdeveloped republics and provinces for last year as well as a report on the fund's operations.

According to the final balance statement, last year the fund received 801.2 million dinars, out of the envisaged 780 million dinars, so a passing glance would suggest that there are no major problems in collecting these monies. However, according to the latest figures of the Federal Secretariat for Finance, the outstanding obligations of the republics and provinces from last year, and the last few months of this year, had amounted to about 2.5 billion dinars by 25 May. If the obligations arising in the next three months are added to this sum, the total of the outstanding debts owed to the underdeveloped will reach about 5.1 billion dinars. [passage omitted]

The chamber elected Faruk Preseva new judge in the Federal Court and Djuro Trbovic Deputy Federal Public Prosecutor. [passage omitted]

'Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party' Founded

LD1006150790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 10 Jun 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 10 Jun (TANJUG)—Today the founding assembly of the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party [Jugoslovenska Socijalisticka Demokratska Stranka] was held in Belgrade's Hall of Youth in the presence of about 40 people. Milan Miladinovic was elected president of the party's initial committee. Jovan Cepic was elected his deputy and Petar Radulovic secretary of the party.

The party will strive to revive some of the positive traditions of Yugoslav socialism which, in its view, are now being abandoned even by the league of Yugoslav Communists. Miladinovic criticized the Federal Executive Council's program and said that Yugoslavia's European orientation can only be welcomed if the existing social system is not compromised.

Independent Democratic Party Issues Statement

LD0606191490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Independent Democratic Party [Yugoslavenska Samostalna Demokratska Stranka—JSDS] today called on all pro-Yugoslav orientated citizens and political parties to join it in strengthening the left-wing power bloc in Croatia and Yugoslavia to, as they said, "forever eradicate

disagreement, dishonoring the human, humanity and Yugoslavia in the streets, in representative bodies, work organizations or sports arenas such as the Maksimir Stadium."

In their statement to the public the main committee of the JSDS "condemns every word uttered in the Croatian Assembly causing divisions and discord among Yugoslav citizens and nations." At the same time it calls for the recall of "all the representatives from the Croat League of Communists - Party of Democratic Changes [SKH-SDP] who are reconciled to the new national authoritarianism and the neglect of the Serbian people and national minorities in Croatia which found its drastic expression at the constitutive session of the Croatian Assembly.

The party also supports the recall of Dusan Bilandzic and Milojko Vuckovic from the Croat Presidency.

The JSDS main committee, in its statement signed by Committee President Mile Dakic, supports the decision of the SKH Petrinja Municipal Committee to leave the SKH-SDP and form the Alliance of the Democratic Left. This party previously—according to the statement—warned of the disadvantageous role of the SKH-SDP and the political mimicry of its President Ivica Racan, particularly in election manipulation with the majority of honest SKH members. It specially refers to Racan's inconsistency in his preelection and postelection statements concerning federalism, confederation and the secession of Croatia from the Yugoslav community of nations.

Foreign Office on Slovene Diplomatic Bodies

AU1006141490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jun 90 p 9

[G. Tomljenovic report: "Further Affirmation of Human Rights"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—Yesterday, at a news conference in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Vladislav Jovanovic, deputy head of the our delegation at the CSCE talks in Copenhagen, spoke of the CSCE conference scheduled to take place in Copenhagen between 5 and 29 June. [passage omitted]

At the news conference the journalists also wanted to know the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs' stand on the Slovene Government's announcement that it will soon send diplomatic representatives to Western countries, and to know whether the new governments in Slovenia and Croatia indicated in any way whether they will seek cadre changes in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs with special regard to these two republics.

According to Ivo Vajgl, spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, it appears that what is in question are not diplomatic representatives, but economic and cultural representative bodies, although the nature of these new representative bodies is still unclear. Having said that, there are no official proposals from Croatia or Slovenia regarding cadre changes in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Vajgl recalled the current practice according to which the cadre policy is agreed on considering specific interests and needs of the republics and provinces, and said that a large number of diplomats in the Federal Secretariat, and other cadres, work on the basis of being sent by their republics and provinces, according to an agreement and for a certain period of time.

Peterle Addresses Envoys on Policy, Ties

LD0106215790 Belgrade TANJUG Dometic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 1 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—We are not "separatists in principle" nor do we a priori raise the question of Slovenia's state system; we do, however, favor full sovereignty. This is why we are insisting on confederation, Alojz Peterle, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Slovenia, said in his talks with representatives of the consular corps in Zagreb and Ljubljana. He added, however, that Slovenia would have to seek other ways for sovereignty unless Yugoslavia was to be based upon democracy, and the processes of democratization were not to come too late.

None the less, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned we are optimists, Peterle said, as he assessed that in Yugoslavia the moment of the final dismantling of the Bolshevik system, based on one party's monopoly, was imminent.

Slovenia will strive to carry out its full sovereignty in the sphere of foreign policies, one reason for this, among others, being the fact that its interests are not represented in the best way at the federal level, Peterle said, informing the representatives that the Republic of Italy was soon to open its consulate general in Ljubljana, Austria its cultural and information center, and other countries have also demonstrated similar interests, while Slovenia itself was also going to set up its missions abroad.

For the time being, Peterle said, these plans include Rome, Vienna, Munich, Paris, Prague, and Brussels.

Peterle explained that the new government would make an agreement with the existing economic missions about these new representatives' degree of competence, and in the second phase, once this is supported by legislation, the competence of these representatives will be raised to the level of governmental ones.

Dimitrij Rupel, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Slovenia, seized this opportunity to invite the consuls to more concrete talks right here, as he said, at this meeting. He called on them to reveal whether their governments had any intentions to set up their missions in Ljubljana, stressing that Slovenia is very much interested in this.

First, the Belgian consul cautioned that this issue must be regulated by legislation. He noted that his embassy and Belgrade were authorized for this kind of issue, and added that Belgium is primarily interested in a consulate in Dubrovnik.

The French consular representative regarded the Slovene government's proposal "as an intereresting and sensitive one which certainly deserves to be discussed in bilateral talks."

Alojz Peterle agreed to this, and suggested to the participants not to perceive today's talks as an opinion poll.

The FRG diplomatic representative was more specific. As for this issue, his country, he said, is "interested in the whole of Yugoslavia's northwest, Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina." He also said that "to split the existing mission into three parts would not be a wise move."

Dimitrij Rupel, however, "reminded him" of the former's talks with the GDR ambassador, of "the historic links between German and Slovene culture, the plans for the unification of the two German states, Slovenia's new status within Yugoslavia" and replied that there is a great deal of reason for opening a German consulate in Slovenia. Slovenia itself will do everything, as Rupel said, to have this come into existence. If for nothing else, it [Slovenia] wants, among other things, to be treated in the same way as neighboring Croatia.

Andrej Capuder, minister for culture, supported this argument by saying that the "issue of Zagreb-Ljubljana relations is not just a matter of geography and bad communications, but above all a matter of the cultural and political identity of two different nations" and that, in short, "Zagreb is the capital of the Croat nation and Ljubljana is the capital of the Slovene nation." This is the reason behind Slovenia's interest in the "European superpowers in the field of culture and economy setting up their missions in Ljublajana," Capuder said.

The U.S. consulate representative complained about the unresolved status of the director of the cultural and information center in Ljubljana and his problems with constant visa applications, and queried the likelihood of Slovenia's assistance in this case.

Dimitrij Rupel promised, on behalf of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, urgent help, and said that this and similar problems stemmed from Slovenia's relations with the federal organs, with Belgrade in general.

No Agreement on Forming Slovene Assembly Bodies

LD0506204690 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2200 GMT 4 Jun 90

[Text] The Slovene parties were unable to come to an understanding today on the formation of Assembly working bodies, and this is why party representatives will meet with the Assembly leadership again the day after tomorrow. The intention is to form the first 12 working bodies, eight commissions and four committees, during the next Assembly session. Judging by what was heard today, it is clear that Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] will insist on getting the chair of key working bodies such as the Constitutional Commission, the Legislative-Legal Commission, the Commission for International Relations, and the Committees for General Economic Matters, Credit and Monetary Policy, and Agriculture and Forestry. On the proposal of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform that an investigation commission should be set up to look into the alleged illegal actions by Ministers Jansa and Bavcar, Jansa replied that he would not oppose an investigation, but a legal basis must be found for such a commission.

Slovenia To Curtail Payments Into Aid Fund

LD0906202190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Members of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Chamber of Economy decided unanimously at today's extraordinary session that this republic would cease to pay funds in the form of obligatory credits into the Fund for the Underdeveloped, but that it would fulfill its obligations concerning already negotiated contracts and projects which are in the implementation stage.

In addition to this, it was proposed to the republican Coordinating Committee that new decisions on projects should not be accepted until further notice, and that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopt an interim law which technically speaking would separate funds for the undeveloped in Slovenia from the same for Yugoslavia.

This standpoint was adopted by members of the Executive Committee of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, it was said, exclusively as a result of the difficult material position of the Slovene economy.

The Chamber of Economy requests that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia further lift the burden from the economy globally by 20 percent from the day on which the Assembly accepts this decision, in other words from 13 June.

SWAP Becomes New Slovene Socialist Party

AU0906171790 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] The first, and thus inaugural, congress of the Socialist Party of Slovenia is being held in Cankar Hall in Ljubljana. It is attended by 107 delegates. Viktor Zakelj is the candidate for the new president of the party, but the election has not yet been carried out. The participants in the inaugural congress are discussing the program. Alenka Terlep reports from Cankar Hall:

[Terlep] Smole's Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP], which metamorphosed into the Socialist Alliance this spring, is now taking the final step. At the congress today, it will become the Socialist Party of Slovenia.

As Viktor Zakelj said in his introduction, the name expresses their conviction that humane socialist thought does not belong to the junk heap of history. If all our parties are in favor of pluralism, democracy, the rule of law, and so forth, the Socialist Party—as Zakelj said—differs from them in its attitude to the daily problems afflicting human beings. It will not rely on one class or another, but rather will seek out its members in all of society. Let us say, by the way, that the new statute adopted puts an end to the amphibians: the members of the Socialist Party can no longer be members of other parties.

Viktor Zakelj said in his introductory speech that the election results were an expression of the people's will for change. The vote at the elections was the vote against the existing system, of which the SAWP was a part. The outcome was therefore expected. It sobered up the last SAWP enthusiasts so that they all see that the time for a people's front has run out.

Regarding Yugoslavia, Zakelj said that the last opportunity for preserving it is the formation of a confederation, and that a new AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], a new agreement among sovereign Yugoslav peoples, is needed. For us, he said, Yugoslavia cannot be based merely on pan-Slavism and the joint fight we fought against our neighbors. The basis can only consist of real economic and political interests.

Concerning pluralism in Slovenia, Zakelj said that our people are too numerous for a single party and at the same time too few for a dozen. The number of parties in our country will certainly be reduced, but the wish of the Socialist Party is that the bipolarity, like the pre-war division between the liberals and the clericals, should not be repeated, but that the Slovene political scene should remain of many colors like a rainbow.

It is precisely the Socialist Party that strives for cooperating with others on the basis of interests, but not for forging alliances in advance. Janez Lukac properly confused (?the discussion about) the statute. He wanted it to contain the provision that the party will strive for a merger with the Social Democratic Party. Lukac's proposal was not adopted.

The statute also provides that the party will set up a parliamentary caucus, and that it will collect membership fees. There was considerable hesitation about the new symbol of the Socialist Party. The three letter S's [for Socialisticna Stranka Slovenije] on a colored background are not enough. A carnation should be added, but this is excessively redolent of folklore and is a conservative symbol; or perhaps Triglav [three-peak national mountain] should be added, but this is an excessively Slovene symbol which would not be appropriate. Anyhow, in the future, you will be able to recognize the Socialist Party by the three S's and the red carnation.

Croatian Premier Addresses New Assembly

AU0606141990 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 May 90 p 5

["Excerpts" of speech by Stjepan Mesic, president of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly, delivered at the inaugural session of the new Croatian Assembly on 30 May]

[Text] Owing to the complex situation in which the Executive Council of this Assembly is assuming its duties, the expectations of the public, insufficiently organized economic and social activities, and the proportionately low level of development, as well as to its responsibility to change this situation, the Executive Council will, in the shortest possible time, do the following:

1. prepare an analysis of and a report on the current economic and social situation;
2. propose measures to prevent a further deterioration of the situation and measures to speed up the development of the economy and society as a whole;
3. analyze all relations between the republic and the federation and undertake steps needed to resolve all outstanding questions.

Before undertaking any measures needed to put the existing situation in order, it will be necessary to thoroughly analyze the actual economic and social position of Croatia.

This implies a real evaluation of all economic and other development potentials; an evaluation of the financial position and development possibilities of the most important economic entities; an evaluation of accumulated funds and all funds available for expenditure, and an analysis of Croatia's financial position; an assessment of the extent of losses and the level of liquidity in the economy and the export sector; establishing the size and the pace of outflow of the funds from the republic to the federation for undeveloped regions and other purposes; an assessment of the organizational structure of the economy and banks; an analysis of the size and structure of joint and general expenditure; an assessment of the achieved level of development and the material position and organization of social activities (education, science, culture, health, and social security); an analysis of the level of development and material position of the small business sector; an evaluation of the work and efficiency of the economic system, particularly those parts that are in the republic's sphere of competence (financing of infrastructure, housing, the taxation system, and so forth); an analysis of the actual extent of employment and unemployment; an assessment of the standard of living and the real number of those in need, and so forth.

Our Own Bosses

On this occasion it is not necessary to particularly emphasize those parts of our program which, in the social and development sense, represent our basic orientations which the people are well acquainted with (the market economy, reduction in the regulative functions of the state to the minimum necessary level, a resolve to be our own bosses, openness to Yugoslavia, Europe, and the world, respect for the rule-of-law, development and respect of democratic and general human principles of living that are appropriate for a civilized and developed world).

Although the government will only be able to come before this assembly with a comprehensive and consistent program of measures after its analyses and assessments have been completed, I would like to use this opportunity to point out certain measures which we need to undertake immediately.

Urgent Measures

I think that among the urgent measures of the new government of Croatia should be the following:

As regards deregulations, it is of paramount importance for Croatia that its resources (oil and oil products, timber and wood products, and transportation services, that is, railroad, road, post-telegraph-telephone, and sea service) are more realistically evaluated on the market. It is also important that Croatia should be able to freely make decisions concerning all its resources.

Deregulating does not mean opening the door to various forms of the plundering of social property and usurping the rights of those who want to live on the basis of their work and honestly earned money. In this connection, we ought to urgently regulate when and under what conditions the mangers of existing enterprises can handle and manage their own enterprises.

As regards enterprises which are ripe for liquidation, we must use all means to protect assets from all forms of pillage in the interest of all of us, and especially in the interest of the workers who work in these enterprises.

It must be clear to us and everybody else that the economy cannot be restructured without certain disturbances and sacrifices. In this sense we should not protect bad enterprises which do not have any prospects, because in this way we would restrict the space for the development of more able enterprises. The burden of restructuring will not bypass anybody. We must all pay the price for it, because we will all benefit from this. This process must be accompanied by an appropriate social program which will provide social security to all those employed who are socially most deprived. Of course, we believe that a sound economic policy is the best social policy.

Creating conditions for a more efficient functioning of the economy, including the small business sector, demands fundamental changes in the fiscal system and the fiscal policy, which will have a more pronounced redistributive and development role in the future.

In this context the government will undertake measure that will regulate these spheres thoroughly and consistently so that economic entities, the republic, and the communes have a clear picture of the situation, so that they can know what to do and what to count on. In doing so we will use the experiences and models of developed countries.

In addition to resources, a more significant economic restructuring of Croatia, including its undeveloped regions, also requires time. The problems that have been accumulating for the last 45 years cannot be solved overnight.

Up to now Croatia has not had a well-defined strategy of development. Some shortcomings of the previous concept of development are more than obvious. The neglect of the Adriatic Sea, lagging behind in the development of the basic transportation infrastructure, omissions in the energy policy, and damage to the environment and ecological problems are only some examples of this policy.

Our program clearly defines relations between the federation and federal units. Croatia cannot give up the right to use its own resources just as it cannot lay claims on the use of resources of other parts of the country.

Economic Interests

For this reason relations in the Yugoslav community must be based on the economic interests of all members of the community.

Led by these principles the government will work on resolving all outstanding problems, and particularly on the following:

1. changes in the methods and extent of financing the federation;
2. changes in the methods and extent of financing underdeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo;
3. abolishing restrictions on private ownership.
4. the methods of participating in adoption of joint decisions concerning equality.

This government again expresses its readiness to cooperate with everybody on an equal footing if this does not bring into question Croatia's sovereignty.

In carrying out its duties this government will be ready to cooperate with all creative forces in Croatia, but will also fight against all those who are trying to impose their own will, as well as against usurpation which would endanger this program, wherever it may come from.

In establishing contacts with expert and scientific circles to overcome the inherited difficulties as painlessly as possible, the government will rely on different advisory bodies.

In this sense the government was already suggested to set up a council of economic advisers of the republic of Croatia.

Croatia's Racan Says Party Division 'Fatal'

LD0506223190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade [as received], 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The stances of the LC [League of Communists] of Croatia-Party of Democratic Change municipal committee in Petrinja have been published, but in the Central Committee we have not received them. They appear to be an initiative to break up and divide the LC of Croatia- Party of Democratic changes on a nationality basis. This is what Ivica Racan told Zagreb television daily news tonight in connection with the latest events in the LC of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes organization in that Banija municipality.

If that is the case, the president of the LC of Croatia-Party of Democratic changes Central Committee said, then this could be fatal not only for our party but further afield for the outlook of democracy in Croatia too. The stances follow the line of those who both on the Croatian and the Serbian side are trying to deepen national divisions among the people and the electorate and hegemonize the nation and drive it in the direction of right-wing political platforms. This is contributed to by the obvious abuse of national sentiments and widespread mood of insecurity among the Serbian people in this republic and, to break up the socialist left to the advantage of the political right, between the Serbians and the Croatians as well.

In the reformed LC of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes we do not want to drive anyone out of the party; by the same token we will not use force to keep in our ranks those who do not wish or cannot follow the reform and the changes. Those who, to give an example, reject the Party of Democratic Changes in our title must be aware that they are rejecting the reform program for which we received a vote of confidence by an overwhelming number of our voters. In so doing they are depriving themselves of the right to speak on behalf of the LC of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes and the voters who have placed their trust and in this party. The fact is that for us the Party of Democratic changes is not a mere title, but the essence of our reformist program for a democratic and sovereign Croatia in Yugoslavia and Europe. Racan has written that he will visit the Sisak-Banija region soon, and that he will also have talks with members of the LC of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes in Petrinja as well.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidium Discusses Defense

LD0506223490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Summary] Sarajevo, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina drew attention to the need for some social programs, which would help low-income workers and those to be laid off, to be drafted and implemented.

Considering topical issues from the area of all people's defense, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina assessed that defense and self-protection preparations are being successfully implemented in the republic in spite of complex social and political conditions and limited material resources.

The statement from the session cites that it drew particular attention to the need to preserve, within the framework of multi-party political system, the unity, functionality, and efficiency of all people's defense, because without this, it is impossible to safeguard the country's independence. Political parties should bear this in mind when drafting their program orientations and guidelines for political activity.

In this sense, it is necessary that the political work of all people's defense forces is grounded on Yugoslav patriotism, readiness and responsibility of each citizen to defend the freedom and country's independence and of the armed forces to act in line with the Constitution and laws.

Registration of Bosnian Party Refused

LD0606123990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The Workers Democratic Party-the Federalist Party [Radniucka Demokratska Stranka- Stranka Federalista—RDS-SF], which held its founding congress in Sarajevo at the beginning of May, today made a public statement in view of the fact that the higher court in the capital has refused to register it.

The founder of the party are citizens of Sarajevo and are members of the Muslim, Serb, and Croat nations and of the Albanian nationality. Seventy-three citizens signed the list of party founders. The political aim of the RDS-SF, the statement says, is based on parity with other parties participating in the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the formation of a Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament, and implementation of its own program and commitments. [passage omitted]

Daily Reportedly Drops Party Affiliation

LD0906092890 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0836 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—The oldest Bosnia-Hercegovina daily, OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo, today dropped the sentence from its heading stating that it is the paper of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance. This change followed last night's session of all journalists of this paper, at which principles and standards of its editorial policy were adopted. From today on this paper is independent and not affiliated with any party. Founder's rights of the Bosnia-Hergovina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference will be ceded to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly.

Recently OSLOBODJENJE also dropped from its heading the motto "Comrade Tito, We Pledge Ourselves to You." The Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republic Conference—which has just convened its congress for 30 June, when this organization will change into a political party—considers, however, forming its own paper. It has not yet been conceived, as elections are the center of attention. Depending on the balance of forces in the political milieu in this Republic, this initiative will probably be realized.

Another political party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists, which discontinued its paper KOMUNIST, is also preparing its own paper.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Democratic Forum Founded

LD0906104990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—The Democratic Forum of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is composed of three parties and one association—the community of branches of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Federation of Socialist Youth-Democratic Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Democratic Party, and the Social-Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina—was founded today in Sarajevo.

The Democratic Forum is the working and coordinating body of these organizations, but according to Dr. Gajo Sekulic, depending on interest, it is possible that it may soon evolve into a coalition or movement.

The Democratic Forum of Bosnia-Hercegovina, it says in its declaration, will campaign for the creation of a democratic Bosnia-Hercegovina and a European Yugoslavia. It will, above all, advocate the adoption of three basic laws on the individual rights and freedoms of citizens; a law on political association, an electoral law, and a law on freedom of the press.

The Democratic Forum will also be active through forums that will be organized each week.

Serbs, Montenegrins Protest Albanian 'Assaults'

LD0606164490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Istok, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—In Kos near Istok, about 200 Serbs and Montenegrins from this and nearby villages protested the latest case of two of their compatriots being stoned and injured by Albanian nationalists in nearby Renovac. Several participants in a discussion last night stressed that this incident was a premeditated nationalistic-chauvinistic act committed from the position of Albanian separatism with the intent of causing anxiety among Serbs and Montenegrins and thereby forcing them to move out of the area. Revolted at frequent assaults on their personal integrity, dignity and property, inhabitants of Kos demanded that torment and violence end. They stressed that, if need be, they will organize their own defense. They made it plain that separatists will not make them change their minds and force them out of their ancenstral homes. They also demanded that the Socialist Republic of Serbia does not give in to demands made by the Albanian alternative organizations and that it preserves its territorial integrity using all possible means.

Serbian Government Discusses New Constitution

LD0606174190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The proposed new constitution of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia differs from its present concept as an ideologically political and program document and forms institutional and organizational conditions for expressing political pluralism.

This was heard at the Serbian Government session held in Belgrade today. The agenda included the new constitution proposed by the Serbian republican leadership. It was assessed that the proposal presents a sound basis for building Serbia into a modern integrated, democratic and efficient legal state.

Special attention was devoted to the part of the constitution which deals with the organization and work of the Serbian Government. It was stressed that it brings more order and legality in the work of provincial administrative organs and officials.

This ends the political practice whereby republican laws had not been applied in Serbia's two autonomous provinces—Vojvodina and Kosovo, it was concluded at the session.

The Communist leadership has repeated several times that the [word indistinct] multi-party elections in Serbia will be held only after the constitution is adopted, thus setting conditions for multipartism.

In two Yugoslav republics, Croatia and Slovenia, such elections were held over a month ago, while they are forthocming in the remaining four—Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia.

Serbs in Croatia Express Nationalist Feelings

LD0606224190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Knin, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The Knin municipality on Wednesday [6 June] launched an initiative for forming a regional municipal association of northern Dalamatia and southern Lika, parts of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia with a majority Serb population.

It also decided to grant equal status to both the Latin and Cyrilic scripts.

Croatia has a population of [number indistinct] million, of which some 600,000 are Serbs.

Dissatisfied with their position and the actions of the postwar Communist authorities, the Serbs a number of times demanded the forming of an autonomous (Serbian) province in Croatia.

According to the president of the Knin-based Serbian Democratic Party, Jovan Raskovic, the Serbs who are orthodox Christians and use the Cyrillic script have, in the postwar period, been systematically discouraged from expressing their national identity.

Their dissatisfaction increased after the April multiparty elections at which the communists (?were) forced to step down in favour of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU).

CDU leader and Croatian President, Franjo Tudjman, said on several occasions that Serbs in Croatia would enjoy "all ethnic and civic rights."

The Serbs, however, were inclined to take his promises with a grain of salt, especially after they were increasingly attacked physically by members of CDU factions, believed to be extremists.

In Zagreb, the Croatian capital, the leadership of the Yugoslav Independent Democratic Party has, in the meantime, called on all Yugoslav-oriented citizens and parties to join it in "strengthening the leftist bloc in Croatia to eliminate discord and hatred forever."

Several days earlier, the Communist Party of Petrinja, a town with a majority Serb population, decided to leave the League of Communists of Croatia-Democratic Reform Party and form a democratic 'eft alliance.

The Petrinja Communists, disatisfied with the leader of the "official" Communist Party, Ivica Racan, indirectly blame him for their defeat at the recent elections.

Serbia's Opposition Parties Press for Elections

LD0806031290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Jun (TANJUG)—The president of the Serbian Assembly, Zoran Sokolovic, invited us to talk with him tomorrow at noon. These talks were called for by the opposition parties in Serbia as far back as 21 May, Milenko Radic, secretary general of the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka] told TANJUG. He also assessed that "it is almost inconceivable the opposition would call off the protest meeting announced for 13 June at Republic Square in Belgrade."

"We expect nothing from the talks with the Serbian Assembly president. We believe this is just a tactical maneuver meant to play for time and water down our resolve," Radic says, recalling that representatives of the People's Radical Party, the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka], the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove], the Liberal Partty [Liberaina Stranka] (Valjevo) and the Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia [Socijal Demokrtska Stranka Jugoslavije] will take part at a news conference scheduled for Monday [11 June] in connection with the protest meeting in Belgrade.

"We are continuing with preparations for the protest meeting, irrespective of the outcome of tomorrow's talks with the president of the Serbian Assembly. The authorities had plenty of time to hold talks in the period we set, if they had the will to do so," Radic stresses. In his opinion, which he claims other opposition leaders share, the Serbian Assembly invitation came only after the opposition submitted a demand yesterday for the protest meeting in the heart of Belgrade to be approved by the city Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The demand, which the leaders of five opposition parties sent to the Assembly and Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, urges that a decision to set the date of free elections be made as a matter of urgency. It also urges the elections be held at the latest by the end of the year. The demand also presses for roundtable talks, at which "the ruling League of Communists" would agree with all opposition parties to adopt new laws on political organization, newspapers, and elections, to be held immediately. The demand especially stresses that the opposition, if its demands are not met, will organize a protest at Republic Square, for which all parties have organized their own security arrangements. It is also envisioned that "an organized column" would leave Republic Square after a two-hour meeting and proceed to the Serbian Assembly and demand its president establish a date for free elections in Serbia.

Serbian Alliance Party Dissolves Itself

LD0706201690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1820 GMT 6 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The operative board of the Yugoslav Alliance, one of the newly founded parties in Serbia, Yugoslavia's biggest republic, has decided that the party should no longer exist due to its dwindling membership.

The party's leadership said the majority of its members would join other Serbian parties, primarily the Democrats and radicals.

The Yugoslav Alliance was founded last September in Serbia, but as this republic has yet to pass a [word indistinct] multiparty system, the Alliance was registered in Ljubljana, capital of the Republic of Slovenia.

Unified Party Idea Receives Support

AU0806213690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] The unification of the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists into a united Socialist Party of Serbia is a significant and decisive move for strengthening and maintaining unity in Serbia. A concentration of (?all) social strata, the united front of the left should more quickly and efficiently achieve progress, changes, and the implementation of reforms.

The party's program must be based on the needs of the times and one should enter an open debate with other parties. This is said in the telegrams of support to the foundation of the Socialist Party of Serbia that the Central Committee has received from Sopot, Loznica, Lebane, Kraljevo, and other places in Serbia. The majority of these telegrams propose that Slobodan Milosevic should head the Socialist Party of Serbia.

Serbian Assembly Protests Congressmen's Visit

LD0906155390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—[passage omitted on changes in financing social services and the budget] The Serbian Assembly decided to send a letter to the U.S. Congress in connection with the recent visit by U.S. congressmen and diplomats to Kosovo. The letter resolutely protests the visit and stresses that this group arrived without any previous announcement to the competent Yugoslav bodies. This act violates the sovereignty of our state and represents crude interference in its internal affairs. Such an act calls into question the statements of the highest U.S. officials that the United States wholeheartedly supports the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

The letter from the Serbian Assembly to the U.S. Congress also asks why the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade joined an anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav project. [passage omitted]

Draskovic To Remain Serbian Renaissance Chairman

LD0906154390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1939 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic remains chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove, SPO] until the assembly of the SPO scheduled for September. Twenty-two out of 35 members of the central administration of the party and the chairmen of several dozen local committees from Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina voted for this at today's extraordinary assembly of the SPO administrative body.

At this meeting (in the Roleks Restaurant in Zemun rented for this occasion) a group of eight former members of the administration, led by Vojislav Seselj, were, in their absence, enthusiastically expelled from the party and its leadership. "Seselj and the seven" are accused of extremism and primitivism, and the reason for the split within the top leadership of the SPO is the fact that the eight "putschists," as they were called today, approved the recent brutal halting of the performance by the Zenica Theater of "Sveti Sava" [St. Sava] in the Yugoslav Theater in Belgrade.

Opening the meeting, Vuk Draskovic informed those present of today's meeting of the five opposition parties' representatives in the Republic with Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly.

At the meeting a new presidium of the party and executive committee were elected. Dr. Jovan Marjanovic and Bogoljub Pejcic will be vice-chairman of the party until its assembly session.

Macedonian Assembly Discusses New Constitution

AU0706185590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Today's session of all three chambers of the Macedonian Assembly has, in fact, fostered yet another change to the republican Constitution. The chambers endorsed the texts of 21 draft amendments which should enable the further democratization of social relations in the republic and the creation of the state based on the rule of law. Here is Boris Djordjioski reporting from Skopje:

[Djordjioski] With these changes, for the first time after more than 40 years, Macedonia has the opportunity to chose provisions of its own constitution which will ensure the preservation of the Macedonian state's integrity, its democratic development [word indistinct] Yugoslavia and, through Yugoslavia, (?into) a united Europe. After making this assertion, [name indistinct], who made the introductory speech, then pointed out that the political monopoly will be abolished and that constitutional conditions will be created for the full freedom of speech, agreement, and association. The present monism in property relations will also be overcome, the powers of the state reduced and its prerogatives directed toward protecting market mechanisms and implementing the policy of common and public spending.

The power will be in the hands of not only the working people, but of citizens too, and this extension of the definition means that labor and capital are treated in the same way. Alternative possibilities are suggested as concerns the highest organs of power and self-management in the republic: The question is whether one should continue to elect the presidency of the Republic or its

president. Another open question is as follows: If the post of the president is introduced, the question is whether he will be elected in general elections by secret ballot or will the Assembly elect him? Another thing that has to be decided is whether the assembly will be bicameral or unicameral. Another suggestion is that the premier should be elected by the Assembly and the premier designate will be from the party with a majority in the parliament.

A public debate on the proposed amendments will last until 10 July. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Presidency Protests Bulgarian 'Force'

LD0906215490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2129 GMT 8 Jun 90

[Text] Skopje, 8 Jun (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Presidency, at its session this evening, adopted a statement in connection with measures of the Bulgarian Government banning activities of the united Macedonian organization, Ilinden, in Blagoevgrad, in which it expressed its anxiety and indignation at the repressive measures of the Bulgarian Government.

The use of crude force on the part of state bodies in Blagoevgrad to disperse a peaceful and dignified protest of Macedonians is extremely unacceptable and is obviously contradictory to the statements of the Bulgarian Government concerning the democatic rights of all citizens of Bulgaria, says the statement from the Macedonian Presidency. These measures are at variance with international norms and rights and freedom of the man. The use of crude force, the statement says, cannot be a contributing factor to the democratization of internal relations in Bulgaria, and even less so a contribution for development of good, neighborly relations with Yugoslavia.

Expressing its protest of such actions by the Bulgarian Government, the Macedonian Presidency called on the competent bodies of the SFRY to take energetic measures, in accordance with international instruments, for the protection of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria. At the same time the Presidency called on international organizations and institutions to cooperate in securing the protection of Macedonians in Bulgaria and offer support to their justified requests.

Kosovo Serbs Call for Unity Against Opposition

AU0906204590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jun 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Peony Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo has issued a proclamation in which it insists on full unity of all democratic and patriotic forces in Serbia, the adoption of a new constitution, and the holding of new elections. The proclamation was read by association President Bogdan Kecman. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

[Begin recording] [Mihajlovic] The Presidium of the Peony Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo has issued a proclamation to the Serbian people in which it appeals for unity in Serbia. It is tragic, the proclamation states, that in this period when one works on the adoption of the Constitution, some parties demand unconstitutional, premature, multiparty elections. This plays into the hands of the Albanian Alternative Movement and the anti-Serbian coalition.

We have severed links with Serbian politicians who desire power at any cost, and now some people are appearing who, for the sake of office, would sell not only Kosovo and Metohija, but also the rest of Serbia, the proclamation says. The Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo request the newly formed parties in Serbia to struggle for the rule of law that is the only guarantee of democracy.

[Kecman] Full unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia must be achieved. The formation of the Socialist Party of Serbia is a great guarantee of this. Now some of the parties that have been formed try to undermine this unity, and they are preparing a rally in Belgrade shortly. We are sure that the holding of such a rally only favors the Alternative and those individuals who struggle for their personal interests and power.

Such a rally is directed against unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Serbian people, and other peoples and nationalities that live in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

[Mihajlovic] The Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo demand that the new constitution of Serbia should be adopted as soon as possible. Full support is expressed for the leadership of Serbia and it was proposed that in the coming elections in Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic should be a candidate above the parties. [end recording]